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Counseling and Guidance in the Twentieth Century

Reflections and Reformulations

EDITED BY

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FOREWORD

Many writers have commented that ninety percent of all scientists are still living. This "still present on the scene" phenomenon is equally true for all who act as specialists in the fields of guidance, student personnel work, and counseling — in fact, the percentage here is likely to be ninety-five percent or more. The past sixty years, and in particular the past forty years, have seen a vigorous growth in these fields. In schools and colleges alone at least 60,000 men and women have become counselors or student personnel workers during the past four decades and certainly most of these are still active.

Growth in this field has been too rapid for smooth and systematic development. The need for such personnel in schools and colleges, and more recently in employment services, hospitals, rehabilitation agencies, etc., has been so pressing that many people have been employed who were professionally prepared in only a slight sense. Even if they had known all that was available in our professional curricula, this still would have been grossly insufficient, for we simply haven't known enough! To a dismayingly degree the demand for professional help has outstripped our substantive knowledge of human behavior. As a consequence the emphasis in preparation in one decade has been superseded by another emphasis in the next decade. The vocational information emphasis of one decade, for example, became the psychological measurement emphasis of the next; and it in turn yielded to a clinical emphasis such as in that found in child guidance clinics.

Even more competitive have been the theories of behavior (personality theories) presented for the guidance of the professional worker. Psychoanalysis reigned for a time with its most vigorous form today being Adler's individual psychology. Its concepts, as well as those of atomistic psychological measurement, were challenged by Gestalt and organismic psychology and, more recently, by perceptual psychology and phenomenology. Perhaps the most recent contenders for focused attention are various learning theories and particularly the concept of behavior modification.

Such a succession of theories about "what is" must be expected in any science or profession, but the near-tragedy in counseling is that we have been forced to work with clients under certain assumptions about behavior before the theory in vogue had been tested adequately. The theory was still "wet behind the ears" at the time we were required by urgent conditions of need to utilize it in dealing with the life problems of clients. Of course elements of each of these practices and theories have been validated and have become a part of our core of substantial knowledge of behavior. Practitioners currently in the field, however, include those who entered during the measurement era, the psychoanalysis era, the phenomeno-

logical era — and they must work side by side with our desperately important boys and girls! Perhaps the common psychological thread through it all is our concern for the client's self-respect and the adequacy of his interpersonal behavior. The most common *philosophy* of today in counseling and student personnel work is probably that of existentialism, with its focus on the importance of the person in the "now."

This book presents a good sampling of the currently active men and women who have been providing leadership in this field since the 1930's and 1940's. (Some of the tall figures of this period are gone — I can think quickly of Lewis Terman, E. K. Strong, W. M. Proctor and W. C. Eells, my proctors at Stanford, of Arthur Jones at Pennsylvania, Harry Kitson at Columbia, etc. — but most are living.) Two authors in this book, vigorous men in their middle fifties, have died since their chapters were written. Those of us who knew Ed Roebber and Buford Steffire still count them as "currently active."

I would stress that this is only a sampling of the total population of the highly visible people in the field. Any individual on the nominating panel mentioned in the preface — I was not one of the panel — would doubtlessly have included certain others on his list, but the frequency of nominations determined the issue except for the four who did not for various reasons accept the invitation to participate. Yet this collection of papers will give the reader a pretty good idea of those whose *reflections* upon their past and whose *reformulations* for the future are currently most influential. All but two of these authors are members of the American Psychological Association as well as the American Personnel and Guidance Association. The age range is from 45 to 74, with the majority of course in the fifties and early sixties. All but two have written influential textbooks in the field — some have written from five to ten such books! A hasty reading of the table of contents discloses the names of six who have served as president of APGA and the names of at least eight more who are past presidents of one of its divisions or of the Division of Counseling Psychology in APA. All but six have had a major interest in the professional preparation of counselors and student personnel workers.

So this book comes as close to a national point of view as could be provided. The genius of the volume is, however, more in the concept of the editors in having each person present *himself* as well as his or her ideas, than in the careful selection of the authors. Each chapter is a kind of personal gestalt of the writer as he sees himself or herself in an autobiographical perspective, presents the best of his writings of a lifetime, and then cogitates on what he thinks is most important for the present and the immediate future. The book as a whole provides a rather grand sweep of ideas, but some readers will find it even more useful as a means of getting to "know" someone about whom they have heard.

The introductory chapter by the two editors is especially valuable, it seems to me, because it examines the social scene within which the counselor and the student personnel worker must operate. The two authors of this chapter present a penetrating analysis of the various factors in our society and in the lives of particular groups of people with which the counselor must be familiar if he wishes to consider himself contemporary. A professional in our field must know more than people, he must know the present and emerging cultural characteristics that determine so much of a client's attitudes and behavior. He must be "tuned in" to a culture as well as to a person.

I hope the reader catches a little of the enjoyment that I believe the writers of these chapters experienced as they wrote about *themselves*. No one had ever asked us to be so personal before! Yet each of us "did our thing" in our own way. As I reflect upon my chapter I think I was more personal in my article than in my autobiography. I wonder why?

C. GILBERT WRENN

PREFACE

Within the past few years guidance has emerged as a major aspect of education. Numerous books and articles dealing with this topic, the rapid increase in the number of workers in the field, and a more recent concern for guidance at the elementary level all attest to the fact that guidance is a necessary component of the educational system. Yet in spite of the deepening interest in and influence of guidance, there is no single source to which the student can turn for an orderly survey of current thinking with an historical perspective in the field. Thus it seems highly desirable to pull together the ideas of a number of leaders in the field under one cover in the form of a book.

Having agreed upon the desirability of such an undertaking, we were faced with the task of selecting scholarly and experienced individuals representative of the field of counseling and guidance. At this point we solicited the advice of our professional colleagues and the suggestions of a number of officers in the American Personnel and Guidance Association. Their helpful suggestions resulted in the selection of a panel of seven members of APGA, including past presidents of that group or presidents of an APGA division. The task of the panel was to select 20 to 25 individuals widely recognized as leading contributors to the field. The panel agreed upon a total of 26 people whose ideas should be presented.

Each of the 26 individuals was invited to prepare an original paper setting forth his current ideas and approaches to guidance. Three individuals declined, one because of poor health. A fourth wished to contribute a previously published paper, but agreements on reprinting could not be reached. Thus a total of 22 individuals contributed papers for the text.

From the beginning, we felt that this book should present both the individual and his work. For that reason each author was asked to prepare an autobiography and a selected list of his major writings. We believe that the inclusion of autobiographical material will provide the student of counseling and guidance with a clearer understanding of how each contributor arrived at his present position.

We are indebted to several individuals who gave valuable suggestions and assistance in the preparation of this book. First, we wish to express our deep appreciation to the authors whose interest and efforts made this book possible. Their cooperation and their patience in working with us on this project is indicative of their interest and dedication to the field of counseling and guidance. Our contacts with the authors, often through lengthy correspondence or by long-distance telephone, have been personally pleasant and professionally rewarding. Recently a review of Frank Parsons' book *Choosing a Vocation* suggested that a new father of

guidance and counseling ought to be found. We feel that the contributors to this book may well be the fathers of the current guidance and counseling movement.

Special acknowledgements are due C. Gilbert Wrenn of Macalester College, consulting editor in guidance and counseling for Houghton Mifflin. His wise counsel and his perceptive judgment were most helpful. The experience of working with Dr. Wrenn has been invaluable for both of us. We also would like to express our appreciation for several helpful suggestions provided by our colleagues Drs. George Leonard and Lewis Walton.

The editors also wish to thank their wives, Hazel and Diana, for their understanding and encouragement during the period of the book's preparation.

Detroit, Michigan

WILLIAM H. VAN HOOSE
JOHN J. PIETROFESA

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COUNSELING AND GUIDANCE
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Reflections and Reformulations

An Overview

COUNSELING IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

COUNSELING IS A UNIQUE PRODUCT of the American educational system. It has deep roots in our democratic concern for the rights, dignity, and worth of the individual. Beginning on a small scale during the first two decades of the present century, guidance, and more specifically counseling, has developed into a vital part of the educational program at all levels. Further, within the past two decades counseling has also found its way into such noneducational settings as employment services, rehabilitation centers, hospitals, and industry. At this writing it is quite appropriate to describe guidance as a movement permeating all aspects of society.

PERSPECTIVE

A complete understanding of counseling as it exists in twentieth-century America necessitates some attention to the historical highlights of the guidance movement throughout the last six decades. While we can accept the notion that *guidance* in some form has existed for centuries, it is only during the present century that it has developed a set of distinctive purposes, functions, and nomenclature of its own.

Historically, guidance had its beginnings in the vocational guidance movement originated by Frank Parsons in Boston just after the turn of the twentieth century. Parsons, considered by many to be the father of guidance, attempted to assess the individual's capabilities, to determine the demands of each vocation, and then to place the individual in the appropriate job. He elaborated upon these procedures in his book *Choosing a Vocation*, posthumously published in 1909. While the vocational guidance movement was aided to some degree by the contributions in psychological measurement of Cattell (1890) and Binet (1905), and in mental health concepts by Beers' *A Mind That Found Itself* (1909), adequate individual appraisal instruments were not available until after World War I.

There is some disagreement as to exactly when formalized guidance began in schools. As early as 1898, Jesse B. Davis was initiating guidance activities

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in Central High School in Detroit, and in 1904 Eli Weaver was conducting vocational placement services at Boy's High School in Brooklyn, New York. In 1913, a guidance conference in Grand Rapids, Michigan, resulted in the establishment of the National Vocational Guidance Association. One of the first city-wide guidance programs was officially established in Grand Rapids in 1912.

During the 1920's and '30's, secondary schools and colleges began placing special emphasis upon psychological testing and counseling in an effort to help the individual in his total adjustment. The pre-World War II decade saw also well-organized and professionally staffed personnel programs in several industries and the establishment of guidance centers and mental health clinics in many communities. Several federal efforts to provide guidance services during the 1930's were made by such agencies as the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration.

Prior to 1938 there was no unit in the U. S. Office of Education for guidance. During its 1938 conference, the National Vocational Guidance Association proposed the establishment of a guidance services section, and the Carnegie Foundation made available \$40,000 to help in organizing the National Occupational Conference and promoting the journal *Occupations*. During the following year, the U. S. Commissioner of Education appointed Richard Allen to the position of guidance consultant and by the end of 1938 the office of Occupational Information and Guidance Services was established (Miller, 1961, p. 162).

World War II had a significant influence upon the development of personnel work in many areas. Twenty million men and women were "processed" through personnel activities in the military or in industry. Research studies and personnel activities related to the war effort contributed greatly to our understanding of personality and adjustment. Rehabilitation of casualties with mental illness was a prime concern. Following the war, counseling programs for veterans provided extensive aid in helping the returning serviceman plan his future, overcome personal adjustment problems, and readjust to civilian life. The postwar period was also characterized by an increased national interest in mental health and a renewed emphasis upon individual differences.

Throughout the second quarter of this century the work of Sigmund Freud stimulated a great deal of interest in emotional man. Much of Freud's thinking, as, for example, on catharsis and the defense mechanisms, helped counselors to find some new understanding in their work with youth and adults. These concepts influenced very slightly the writings of J. G. Darley (1937), E. G. Williamson (1939), and somewhat more the work of Carl Rogers (1941). These books created a vast amount of interest in counseling as a method of helping individuals resolve concerns and deal with frustrations. Although the emphasis of Darley, Williamson, and Rogers differed, their contributions stimulated much research on the counseling process. Another important result of Rogers' work was to establish a clinical (personal meanings) emphasis in guidance and counseling in contrast to the earlier actuarial

emphasis (inferences from measurement data and records). In the modern sense, the work of both Rogers and Williamson was more clinical than earlier methods which placed strong emphasis upon self-analysis and occupational information (Miller, 1961, p. 168).

The rising interest in counseling in the late 1940's is illustrated by several developments in counselor preparation. In 1947 the National Vocational Guidance Association appointed a committee to prepare a statement on the preparation of counselors. The final report of this committee outlined a common core of training for all counselors. One of these core areas included not only the use of such tools and techniques as the interview, testing, and inventories, but also the study of personality and the growth and development of the individual.

In 1949 and 1952 the Division of Counseling and Guidance (later the Division of Counseling Psychology) of the American Psychological Association, focused its attention upon the preparation of counselors. Within more recent times the American Personnel and Guidance Association, founded in 1951 to integrate several existing national organizations, has given increased attention to counseling and professional counselors.¹

The rapid growth of counseling in this country is most clearly observable in numbers. In 1917 it was estimated that there were 50 school counselors in the United States. By 1958 their number had grown to 12,000 in the secondary schools and ten years later to 38,000 full-time equivalent counselors (Shertzer and Stone, 1968, p. 117). The total number of both full- and part-time counselors in 1965 was 42,124 (Shertzer and Stone, 1968, p. 119). Within the past five years, considerable increase in the number of counselors has been noted, particularly at the elementary level. In 1967 a report of a national survey of elementary school guidance revealed that 3,837 full- and part-time counselors were working in elementary schools. By 1969 their number had increased to 5,929 (Van Hoose and Kurtz, 1969). Federal government concerns for children and youth, and such agencies as the Youth Corps and the Job Corps, have had a major impact upon the expansion of guidance and counseling services for out-of-school youth. By a conservative estimate, there are at least 50,000 counselors in the U.S. today.

CHANGING EMPHASES

While progress in guidance during the past six decades is observable, numerous changes are also clearly visible. The following quotes indicate some changes in concepts and functions over the years.

- ... the chief work of the vocational counselor is to deal with individual persons who are in need of help in choosing a life-career (Borow, 1913, p. 109).
- ... vocational guidance must take for its function the conservation of human resources (Spaulding, 1915, p. 69).

¹ The events cited above briefly mark some of the highlights of the guidance movement. Readers interested in a more complete account should read Chapter 3 in Borow, *Man in a World at Work*, and Chapter 6 in Miller, *Foundations of Guidance*.

We have pointed out above that happiness, good citizenship, morality, and social usefulness are frequently bound up with the choice of a vocation (Brewer, 1922, p. 5).

Guidance is . . . inseparable aspect of the educational process that is peculiarly concerned with helping individuals discover their needs, assess their potentialities, develop their life purposes, formulate plans of action in the service of these purposes, and proceed to their realization (Jones and Hand, 1938, pp. 24-25).

Guidance is founded upon the principle of the conservation of human life and human energy; it is based upon the fact of human need (Jones, 1951, p. 3).

The purpose of most helping professions, including guidance counseling, is to enhance the personal development, the psychological growth toward a socialized maturity of its clients (Rogers, 1962, p. 428).

To assist the immature but growing pupil in a better understanding of himself, to think through with him the meanings of personal choices, to encourage him to optimal academic productivity, to give dignity to his individuality, this is the nature of guidance (Peters and Farwell, 1967, p. 3).

Thus, the emphasis has shifted from a view of guidance as vocational assistance to a concern for the total development of the individual. Changes have also occurred in our notions about the scope of guidance. Guidance has become a point of view, a concept, while counseling is a service. In the past counseling was viewed as a service provided primarily for adolescents in the secondary school. More recently it has expanded to include the elementary grades and all collegiate institutions.

The changes in concepts of counseling and functions of counselors have resulted from our increased psychological sophistication, an analysis of manpower demands, and a growing concern for the individual's right to make his own decisions. Such influences, however, do not fully explain all that has happened during the past few decades. Guidance is an intrinsic part of the American educational system and is vitally influenced by changes in the larger society. The life of every citizen is being influenced by these changes. Many are limited to America, but others are global in nature. These dynamic forces have numerous implications for education.

SOCIAL COMPLEXITY AND CHANGE

Numerous forces have had a vital influence upon the rapid change and complexity which characterizes the present era. Some of these forces are contradictory. We believe in new things and welcome material progress, but we also devoutly believe in *people*, their rights, their freedom of choice, and their education. The most powerful influences upon social change include 1) developments in science and technology, 2) increased communication with the rest of the world, and 3) the search for a sense of direction (Wrenn, 1962, p. 12).

Technological changes have had a major impact upon the world of work and upon people's lives. Automation is now a fact of life. Automated processes make it possible both to produce more and to produce items that would

be too expensive to produce by hand. Just as automated processes can out-produce man's hands and senses, computers can now come close to out-producing his brain. Computers also make it possible for man to analyze and put to use the vast amount of information that comes from our scientific laboratories.

Scientific achievements such as communications satellites and rapid trans-oceanic transportation have made the traditional geographic isolation of America a thing of the past. Living and interacting with people from other countries changes our insights, our understanding, and our values. We are no longer isolated from the problems that beset other nations of the world. These conditions cause us to reexamine several aspects of our own society and, in the process, create uncertainties for the individual.

The search for purpose is both national and personal, perhaps the one within the other. Wrenn's analogy illustrates this point: "It is as though a family had gone through its physical growing stages, had a home and income, had children who were half-grown and who were asking, 'What's it all about Pa?' We are uneasily aware that we have grown very fast, have our feet on solid economic and democratic ground, but can't see the next steps clearly" (Wrenn, 1962, p. 12). The American society offers to its participants the greatest opportunities for self-fulfillment that any society throughout history has been able to provide. Needs, both psychogenic and viscerogenic, can be satisfied in any number of ways. This certainly makes possible increased concern with satisfaction of the higher need levels of man. But at the same time participation within the American society is taxing. Conflicting values and standards, for example, often lead to inner confusion and sometimes rebellion. Further, the wide range of choices and alternatives available to the members of a dynamic society creates choice anxieties and uncertainties not encountered in an earlier day.

The American Family

The American family structure has undergone vast changes within the past few decades. These changes are the result of urbanization, improvement in the economy, changes in the traditional methods of work and changes in the husband-wife relationship, in terms of both increased equality for women and a decrease in male authority, and of a breakdown in family cohesiveness.

Bronfenbrenner (1967, p. 60) and Ginzburg (1963, p. 195) have documented the following changes in the American family:

1. Child-rearing practices tend to be more democratic.
2. Many responsibilities for child-rearing have shifted to outside agencies.
3. Relationships with relatives are weak or nonexistent.
4. More mothers work outside the home.
5. The father is often absent from the home.
6. Social and vocational mobility have increased.
7. Recreation has moved outside the home.

Other widely discussed problems of the American family include a high divorce rate resulting in one-parent homes, a high incidence of emotional

divorce and bickering within the home, parental uncertainty, and the irresponsibility of children and youth. Whether one views the American family with great alarm is hardly the point here. The fact is that the family as a social institution is far from perfect and that these conditions do create problems for children and youth. Many factors influencing the family are beyond the control of parents. Conditions of life and living have changed and the family has felt the impact of this change. Counselors should be knowledgeable about the interrelationship of such family factors and be slow to prejudge the home and the parents (Wrenn, 1962, p. 32).

Education

Dramatic change has taken place in the American public school during the past two decades. While this change may be more evolutionary than revolutionary, there is no doubt that schools are deeply involved in the broader social revolution. Some of the most visible changes of major concern to the counselor are discussed below.

1. *Changes in curriculum.* There are numerous signs of change in today's curriculum at all levels of education. New innovations have made possible programmed materials, instructional kits, televised teaching, and special tutoring as alternatives to the more traditional teaching approaches. Pronounced changes are also evident in such areas as mathematics, foreign language, science, and, more recently, social science. Such changes are necessary to meet the needs of students in a changing society. However, it is not enough to change only the form or technique of curriculum. Changes in content and emphasis will be increasingly necessary if education is to serve its true function in a democratic society. In addition to keeping informed about innovations in education, the counselor must be knowledgeable about their influences on students. Further, he should understand students' reactions to their educational experiences and to the larger culture. One of the counselor's responsibilities is to translate and transmit such information to those responsible for curricular development.

2. *Changing conceptions about social class and education.* The nation's concern about the disadvantaged and about social class inequality have influenced numerous changes and adaptations in the public schools. Two major types of change in this connection are worthy of mention. The first of these concerns our attempts to end racial discrimination in education. The second change involves the school's efforts to decrease the influence of social class upon educational achievement and to provide equal access to the school's resources for all children. These changes are, of course, interrelated and overlapping and have had some related effects.

First, these changes have drawn attention to several imperfections in the present system. Second, they have raised the question of whether education can be all things to all people. Finally, we have learned that the future holds in store many more sweeping changes in education.

The professional counselor must develop procedures to support and facilitate change when necessary, and he must assume an increasing amount of

responsibility for identifying, interpreting, and handling problems resulting from rapid change. In short, the counselor may become the validating agent for change in the school.

3. *Changing emphasis on the role of the school.* The school is no longer concerned only with the intellectual development of pupils. The school now recognizes its obligation for developing intellectual, social, and vocational competence. The development of competence in all three areas is of vital importance for today's society.

The counselor has a vital role to play in helping children and youth acquire the competence necessary to be fully functioning members of a democratic society. The school and the counselor must be concerned with intellectual growth from the standpoint both of the needs of the individual and of the needs and demands of society. At the same time the counselor must respond to the student's need to develop social and vocational competency, but must not emphasize either to the exclusion of the other.

4. *Changes in staff and services.* Teachers and administrators are no longer the only professional workers in the school. A third professional group—pupil personnel workers—are now accepted as vital members of the school staff. Counselors, psychologists, social workers, and other specialists are now complementing the work of teachers. These professionals have been added in response to a growing need for more specialized and more personalized assistance for students. Society's demands today and individual needs in the future will undoubtedly create a need for more professionals who can provide services essential for aiding children and youth to acquire the competencies mentioned above. Thus, children and youth in the future will have more assistance from a number of professionals.

While changes in education are necessary to meet the demands of a changing society, we must not forget that we are educating people, not producing robots. Educating pupils is not the same as the assembly-line production of a machine. The counselor needs to be a stimulator in terms of pupil needs and social change.

The World of Work

The guidance movement began as a method of helping young men and women achieve better occupational placement and greater success in their chosen vocations. While our concept of vocational guidance is certainly different today from what it was fifty years ago, the validity of the concept is even more widely accepted today than in the past. The importance of work in one's life and the need for assistance in career matters has become increasingly significant. Several changes in the world of work and in the occupational structure which have important implications for counseling should be noted. These changes include: 1) the diminishing need for unskilled workers, 2) an increasing need for professional and technical workers, 3) job insecurity and the possibility of job change as a result of automation and technology, 4) geographic shifts of industries, 5) possibilities of new careers arising from new services and the development of new products, and 6) a continued increase

in the number of youth in the labor force. Some of the more obvious implications arising from these changes are as follows:

1. Individuals need preparation for job and career changes throughout their lifetimes.
2. Individuals may then need sequential job retraining during their career span.
3. Individuals may have to make decisions for rather short time periods, and to continually reappraise such decisions.
4. Individuals will have to utilize nonemployed time profitably.
5. Individuals must be geographically mobile and not afraid of change when job displacement occurs.

Pupil personnel workers and counselors should be responsible not only for the availability of current information, and other guidance services, e.g., placement and followup activities, but most importantly for the provision of enough counseling time to allow each individual the necessary help to plan his future. Youth may need help continuously in developing the self-understanding which in turn leads to mature decision-making.

Population Mobility

There is an accelerating trend toward population mobility throughout the world. Young people and their families now travel throughout the country and the world for pleasure, for study, and for employment. They are able to observe customs, values, and behaviors of people who are different from themselves. Their observations often raise questions about traditional ways of behaving.

Mobility within the United States, as in the case of the poor seeking better opportunities or of the affluent moving to other jobs, often creates uncertainties and insecurity for children and makes it difficult to establish firm roots or relationships in any community. Frequent moves, requiring new learnings and adaptations, may provide some rich experiences for young people, but frequent change can also be confusing. The young may feel displaced, and they may require more personal attention and assistance than is normally given in the traditional educational program.

The Metropolis

Metropolitanism has become an issue of major national concern, even to the extent that one frequently hears the term "crisis in the American city." It is likely that over 70 percent of the American population today lives in metropolitan areas (Hadden, 1967, p. 8). During the next fifteen years fifty-five to sixty million people will be added to the cities (Weissbourd, in Hadden, 1967, p. 17). Many of the following problems now exist in the central city areas partly as a result of this great concentration of people on approximately 9 percent of the land (Havighurst, unpublished speech, 1968).

1. Physical obsolescence and deterioration.
2. Civic poverty.
3. Concentration of the poor.

4. Ghetto housing.
5. Unrest.
6. High unemployment rates.

Irvine (1968, p. 178) writes, "A drive through slums or shanty towns does not give one a view of the bodies and souls piled beyond the bounds of human dignity into the buildings." Besides its influence on health, bad housing in many slums is an assault on the occupants' personal dignity and feelings of self-worth. It can contribute to their alienation from the obviously better-housed people in the remainder of the city and to difficulties in work adjustment. Unemployment in city slums is three times higher than the national average, with one out of three workers in city areas not adequately employed. Suburban life, on the other hand, is "self-indulgent, apathetic, and a retreat from the realities and responsibilities of our complex social order" (Hadden, 1967, p. 2). The suburbs tend to be impervious to problems that exist within the central city. The suburban population differs from the population of the inner city in that it is relatively homogeneous, with a high proportion of whites; enjoys a relatively high socioeconomic status, and has stronger family ties. Inadequate education and a lack of skills take their toll of both white and Negro workers. More emphasis has to be placed in the future on social as well as physical renewal. The appropriate education of youngsters will not provide all of the answers, but it can help.

The Population Explosion

Population growth itself will continue to accelerate during the coming years. The world is now adding to its population about 125 people every minute, 7500 every hour, more than a million every week and 65 million every year (Appleman, 1965, p. 9). Population growth in the United States will be most rapid among the age group not economically productive or self-sufficient, and there will be a doubling of the number in the 14-17 age group between 1950 and 1980 (Wrenn, 1962, p. 17). The mounting population, with its correspondingly greater demand on interpersonal relations and interdependence, will add to the pressure placed upon individuals.

Communication

Mass communication has a pervasive influence on the individual. Vast technological resources are available but "however advanced our technological ability to communicate, psychologically we are still floundering" (Wrenn, 1969, p. vii). Increasingly, the youth of today will have to face the many manipulatory attempts of the various media to influence them. Children encounter daily numerous propaganda and mass persuasion techniques. They also help to prepare the child for his future role as consumer. Behavior can be influenced, not only by the commercialization aspects of the mass media, but also by the so called entertainment features, e.g., the observation of filmed aggression, cartoon or otherwise, heightens aggressive reactions in children. There probably is, in addition, a negative reaction in the economically deprived child as he views the products and habits of more affluent Americans.

The child needs to be able to think critically about each message that is being received.

Non-employed Activities

Individuals will have to deal with an increasing amount of time outside of their paid employment. It is projected that the average work week will be 38 hours in 1970 as compared to 69.8 hours in 1850 (Stewart and Warnath, 1965, p. 82). Many, because of increased automation and depersonalization at work, will look for primary satisfactions in their non-employed activities. Non-employed time increases man's freedom; and, regardless of how bizarre the leisure activity, it is marked by the desire to escape from tennion. Riesman's "other directed" person has few "play" ceremonials, but his "play" is fluctuating and innovational, demanding a kind of subjectivity and creativity. In childhood play people often develop preferences, and even habits, which persist into adulthood. The ramifications of this fact will have to be considered. Counselors can help individuals make leisure more meaningful and satisfying.

INDIVIDUAL NEEDS IN THE LARGER SOCIETY

The Older Person

The emphasis within the American culture upon youth has led to a corresponding devaluation of the older person. Older people are being retired at an earlier age, although they have been productive and could continue to be so for years to come. The possibility of finding other work becomes almost nil. Just the fact of being retired from a job which has provided primary life satisfaction is threatening to the individual. And then to be "farmed out" to fill countless hours of nonemployed time, in an atmosphere in which younger societal members place little value upon the worth of older persons, leads to premature death.

There is a need for effective counseling practices with the aged which recognize as basic the fact that old age is a different phase of life. A major dynamic of this new phase is a weakening of attention "to social and other world events and increased attention to interior processes, nostalgic recollection and contemplation" (Henry, 1968, p. 216). Counseling should be available throughout adult life.

The American Female

Women are discriminated against in the American society and in the world of work. This is a strange type of prejudice in that it is directed against a majority rather than a minority group. Females outnumber males by 2,600,000 in the United States (Mortenson and Schmuller, 1966, p. 85). Some of the following statistics are very enlightening (Manpower Report, 1967, pp. 134-139):

28 million women workers in 1966 represented over a third of the country's work force.

Women accounted for 1.1 million of the 1.3 million urban labor force increase in 1966.

3 out of 5 women are in clerical, operative, or service jobs with relatively few women in professional and technical work.

Women's earnings are far lower than men's. Women, full-time, employed year round, had a median wage and salary income of about \$3800 in contrast to \$6400 for men.

Women appear to be concentrated in low-skilled, low-paid jobs. The myth that women are inferior and should be subordinate to men has been very persistent in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Undoubtedly, part of the reason for this has been the tendency of parents and the larger culture not to expect much from women. The Manpower Report (1967, p. 137) attributed women's job limitations to "stereotypes about women's jobs, deficiencies in the vocational guidance and counseling available to most girls, emphasis on traditional occupational choices, and limitations in the types of education and training courses offered. . ."

Minority Group Treatment

The treatment of minority groups, particularly the Negro, has become a grave concern within the American society. Prejudice toward minority groups still exists and must be replaced with more constructive attitudes. Some gains can be made initially by improvements in job opportunities. This could lower the unemployment rate, which is twice as high for nonwhites as for whites, and balance the fact that one-fourth of all nonwhite teenagers are jobless. Black students aspire to significantly higher occupational status than their parents, but it is also probably true that most lower-class black students do not aspire to middle-class occupations (Henderson, 1966, pp. 41-45). Eventually, then, it has to be recognized that basic attitudes toward self and society need to be improved. If this is not accomplished, social unrest will mount, particularly in the inner cities, which have seen an increase in the black teenage population of over 50 percent from 1960 to '65. Unexpended aggressions, which have in the past been turned inward, are now exploding in a rage against society itself. Counseling can help, but success may well depend upon understanding the clients' racial hostility. Black role models who portray a wide range of job opportunities and, for males, express masculinity and success, can help raise the aspirational levels of lower-class black youth.

Mental Health

Mental health problems within the American society are burgeoning. Coleman (1964, p. 20) presents statistics which illustrate the seriousness of the situation: 55 percent of all hospital beds are filled by mentally ill patients; 10,000,000 Americans are neurotic; 750,000 Americans are in mental institutions, with about 250,000 first admissions yearly; 5,000,000 Americans are problem drinkers, while 1,000,000 are chronic alcoholics; there are 3,000,000 children with emotional and behavioral problems. Estimates have indicated

that 10 percent of the American population needs psychological professional help. Nearly 2.1 million people were treated for mental illness in 1964, and more than 1.2 million were resident patients in hospitals. The proportion of discharged patients who relapse and return to a hospital is now about 37 percent (Manpower Report, 1967, p. 143). Schools and industry need to provide the best possible environments, where optimal mental health is in harmony with maximum educational and occupational attainment. The most useful approach would be developmental and preventative in nature, with the entire spectrum of guidance and counseling services available.

Guidance for All Youth

All youth face developmental problems, for which counselors can give assistance. Ordinary emotional, social, and physical changes are not always smooth and orderly. Youth, in their search for independence and identity, are confronted with more ambiguity and uncertainty than ever before. There are very few, if any, absolute standards available today in the American society by which one can make relatively simple choices. Adolescence has more and more become a distinct phase of the maturation process with unique tasks and problems. Adolescence values a need for emotional, social, and economic independence, and yet the adolescent is still dependent to a great extent upon parents. Conflicts with adults, who hold adult values and are overly critical of the adolescent, results. The school can foster dependence if, as it too often does, it caters to the docile, noncreative individual. Wrenn (1962, p. 109) recommends that primary emphasis in counseling be placed upon developmental needs and decision points, rather than on crises. He goes on to say that the major goal should be increased self-responsibility and increased maturity in decision-making. The idea, then, is that youth should make their own choices and solve their own problems. The counselor can attempt to do the following:

1. Maximize individuality by accepting and understanding the person as he is now.
2. Develop sensitivity and concern for others.
3. Help youth recognize their diversity through encouragement of their differences.
4. Aid in the growth of children and youth by helping them to confront their life dilemmas and by assisting them in moving toward achieving their highest potentiality.

Needs of Special Groups

While emphasis in the guidance and counseling program should be given to working with all children, some children do have special needs that must be considered. Of the estimated 26 million youth who will enter the labor force in the decade 1960-1970, 8.9 percent will have a grade school education or less, 20.2 percent will not complete high school, 45.3 percent will complete high school, and 25.6 percent will have some college (President's Committee

on Youth Employment, 1963, p. 3). Dropouts, then, are a heterogeneous group. While not the sole responsibility of the school counselor, the dropout, whose future is often bleak, is a part of the counselor's domain. A broad spectrum of counseling is needed to help the dropout develop a more positive self-concept and a closer identification with society. Guidance personnel can help to identify potential dropouts as early as possible, while counselors can help in the choice of "the good life."

There are within the schools youngsters who can be considered mentally, emotionally, or physically handicapped. It is a necessity to understand such factors and their relationship to the child's adjustment within the school. In many cases there is a discrepancy between parental expectations and the actual abilities of the child (Myklebust, 1962, p. 307) which contributes to personal maladjustment. Special discipline procedures may have to be followed by teachers when dealing, for example, with the emotionally disturbed child. The challenge for counselors is to deal with the unhealthy attitudes of both child and parents and to make them more positive and realistic. Counselors can help set expectations in line with the actual abilities of the child.

The counselor should be creative and should encourage creativity in his encounters with individuals and counselees. In helping gifted youngsters make appropriate educational choices, the counselor can help the student to relate to a school curriculum which may be too oriented toward the average or "normal" child. The counselor can help identify gifted children as early as possible. He can work in a team effort with teachers to develop curriculum innovations, e.g., the acceleration of bright children to the next grade level or the provision of experimental nongraded experiences.

One of the greatest needs in society that schools will have to meet is the education of the culturally "disadvantaged" youth, who should more properly be termed the "culturally different." "Socially disadvantaged children make up about fifteen percent of the child population" (Havighurst, 1966, p. 27). Possible criteria to distinguish this group from so-called "middle-class youth" are inadequate language development, negative self-concept, inappropriate social skills, and cultural differences which include different mores and perceptions of the world (Larson and Olson, 1963, pp. 130-134). Certainly these are characteristics that would work against the child in the school. The child's attitude toward the school becomes increasingly negative as he progresses through the system. Education can have a more effective influence in the lives of the culturally different. The assumption that the culturally deprived child cannot make normal progress in school unless conditions in the home are improved is false and has led to a stagnation in the education process. He can learn more quickly and effectively through encounter with concrete experiences on which to base his vocabulary and reasoning skills. The school should stress vigor and independence rather than conformity, dependence, neatness, and nonaggression. By doing so, education can be made more acceptable to male students. The school counselor must play a role in meeting the needs of the culturally different, a role which out of necessity may not conform to previously conceived patterns:

1. The counselor should honestly accept and understand the culturally different child.
2. The counselor may have to understand a different culture in order to communicate with the client.
3. The counselor may need to be more aggressive in seeking out clients, for the children of less economically advantaged parents initiate fewer counseling sessions.
4. The counselor will need to learn to question the validity of formerly accepted techniques, e.g., tests.
5. The counselor may have to utilize and develop unique group counseling and group guidance procedures which hold new promise.
6. Counselors will need to keep up with, and pay attention to, the literature on the culturally different child. The implications of Riessman's (1966) criticisms of the effectiveness of progressive education with the culturally different—because its permissiveness, accent on self-introspection, underestimation of discipline and emphasis on creativity are contradictory to the child's prior environment—have not really been considered or related to the counselor's role.

IN SUMMARY

There are a number of societal and individual needs and a number of cultural influences which affect the role of the counselor within the American society. To expect the counselor to satisfy all present needs is totally unrealistic. Yet the counselor who is not aware of such needs and influences is unprofessional, if not downright ignorant. The counselor must be committed to helping people grow, and this means being aware of their needs. Nothing can be further from the truth than the old adage that "ignorance is bliss." Ignorance on the part of the counselor will result in inappropriate counselor decisions. Such decisions will be founded on a distortion of the realities of the environmental scene, and will defraud the individual seeking help. This will inevitably result in an unhappy, unfulfilled individual leading a meaningless life.

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DUGALD S. ARBUCKLE

*Professor of Education, Boston University**Autobiography*

My early educational background was somewhat less standardized than that of most young Americans today. My first eleven years of formal education were spent in one-, two- and three-room schools in mining towns in the Canadian Rockies. I led my class of one in grades 10 and 11. It was pretty much limited to self-instruction, and I would study my history for an appropriate period, then turn to algebra, then English, and so on. The teacher would help me periodically. If he could, but in the last two grades he was not too far ahead of me in the subjects I was supposedly studying.

I went to high school in the city of Edmonton for grade 12, and for the first time learned about homework. The sudden change from being the only student in the grade to being one of hundreds was quite a shock. I boarded with friends and, between my parents' allowance and what I saved from selling papers, managed to pay 20 dollars a month for room and board and allow myself 10 dollars a month for wild living.

The next summer I worked in the coal mines, as I had the year before, and it was primarily the encouragement of my parents, and the reflection of their belief in the value of education, that returned me to school. My childhood had been spent outdoors, and I would have liked to go to the university for a degree in geology, but this was financially impossible. We did have just enough money, however, to send me to normal school for seven months, which in turn would give me certification to teach all grades in the Alberta School. This was during the Depression, and vocational choice problems, such as "What job should I get into?" did not exist. My father lost his job about this time, and was too old to have the faintest chance of getting another one, so my problem was the very simple one of survival for my parents and myself. The next seven years saw a variety of jobs, including teaching all grades in a one-room country school — with separate outdoor privies for girls and boys (and none for the teacher) —

vovement in it as a major concern and writing and talking about it as related functions.

As I have said, my earliest years were spent in the outdoors, and my first published writing was in an outdoor magazine. Hunting, fishing, hiking, skiing — this was the life, and the "bush," as we called the wilderness, was our major attraction. Thus, it was reasonable that any job thoughts I might have had would be connected with the outdoors. At the age of 17 I applied for a position with the Forest Department, as a lookout man on one of their fire towers. What if I had gotten this job — where would I have gone? In my early days, continuing to work in the coal mines frequently appeared to be more attractive than continuing with an education.

As previously mentioned, I would have worked for a degree in geology at the University of Alberta if I had had the money, and I imagine that I could have become a satisfied and effective geologist. During the early years of the war I was accepted for a position as a chemist in a munitions plant — my first degree was in chemistry and mathematics — but the Canadian government would not let me leave my teaching job. What might have happened if I had been allowed to take the position of chemist? If I had not joined the Air Force, I would not have been eligible for the Canadian G.I. Bill and it is most unlikely that I would ever have received a Ph.D. or come to the United States. What would I be doing now if I had not joined the Air Force, but had remained in Canada as a teacher?

Thus, my occupation, and previous jobs which have led up to my current position, have, I think, been to some degree determined by forces over which I had no control or direction. On the other hand, I did make personal decisions which affected the development of my career (I did not, for example, have to join the RCAF, since I was in an essential occupation and would not have been drafted), and my various positions have to some extent been developed by me, rather than by fitting myself to them.

There was little in the way of organized religion in the towns where I grew up, but as is often the case with men who work in dangerous occupations, there was much in the way of brotherly love and compassion. Miners might spend their weekends gambling and drinking and wenching, but they wouldn't give a second thought to putting their lives on the line to rescue a comrade. My parents preached not at all, but they reflected virtue and integrity and honesty and goodness, and these I accepted as basic human traits. Courage and integrity might best describe my father, patience and compassion my mother. I hope they left their mark.

It was a frontier life. The railroad was the only means of access: there were no roads and, needless to say, no automobiles. The houses we lived in were either built by our parents or by the company, and they are all gone now. These towns I talk about are no more, and trees and bushes grow where our homes once stood. A man stood on his own feet, and it was still the day of the individual. It might startle some readers to hear that the first time I visited the city and saw fences, I felt a surge of anger. Who was to tell me where I could and could not go?

Thus, without doubt, my stress on the individual and on the primacy of individual rights over any group or organization or state is very much rooted in my early years. So, too, is my feeling that people will help each other, that humans

are constructive and growthful, and that they will even die so that others may live. In my mountain-climbing experience, both in my early years and later as a member of the Alpine Club of Canada, men's strength was often put to the test, and it stood up well. Here, too, one experiences a sharper awareness of life and living, and it is likely that only those who have struggled to the summit of a mountain, or have felt the rare exhilaration of a first ascent, can have a true appreciation of what this means. It may be that life becomes keener and sharper when it is placed on the line and death hovers nearby. In the Air Force, too—although my contribution was minimal—there was a certain comradeship and a feeling of individual worthiness. While it may sound frightfully old-fashioned, I must say that I wore the uniform with pride, for in that war the stakes were clear and simple, in contrast to the unhappy war that young men are being forced to fight today.

My years at Chicago probably sharpened my perspective on both myself and my fellow human beings, and Carl Rogers was an important part of my Chicago experience. I had been around long enough, however, that Chicago meant not so much learning something new as a greater awareness of the meaning of much of what I had been doing over the previous years, as well as a greater appreciation of my day-to-day living. This process has, I hope, continued over the years since I have left Chicago.

Finally, of course, the quiet strength, the unobtrusive intelligence and the great compassion for others of the person with whom I have now lived for over twenty-five years has had a marked effect on the development of my career. What would have happened without my wife I do not know, but I am quite sure that I would have been a much different person, and my career would have developed in a much different way. She and the five people we have created have been the major influence on my life and my career in the years since Chicago.

Theoretical and Philosophical Concepts

An adequate conceptualization of guidance and counseling necessitates attention to philosophical and theoretical constructs, and to the relationship of the counselor to the counseling process within the American educational institution. In this opening paper Dugald Arbuckle provides a theoretical framework from which counselors can work. He emphasizes the potential of man and the inherent worth of the individual. He sees man as a determiner, as well as a product, of culture. Man has choices, and must assume responsibility for his decisions. He is capable of changing and transcending prior influences. In Arbuckle's view the primary function of the school is the full development of the individual, and the goals of education should derive from the needs of pupils rather than from the gross needs of society. Arbuckle sees the counseling relationship as nonevaluative and intimate, providing an environment in which the counsellee is free to grow. Because of the crucial nature of the values of the counselor, Arbuckle discusses this topic at length.

THE EDITORS OF THIS BOOK pose a difficult problem in asking an individual to write about his theoretical and philosophical contribution to the field of guidance and counseling. One usually has some awareness of his own theoretical and philosophical stand, but the extent to which this is a "contribution" is determined by the effect his position—as indicated by what the individual has done, said, and written—has had on developments in his professional field. And this determination is made by others, not by the individual himself. Thus Freud may well have felt that he was contributing a great deal to the fields of both medicine and psychology, but he is established as one of the great historical figures in psychology because of his recognized impact on the thinking and the work of several generations of psychologists. Thus I can offer what I think and feel to be my own theoretical and philosophical concepts, but whether or not they represent a contribution—and if so, what kind of contribution—will have to be determined by others. For this reason, the title of this chapter includes the word "concept" rather than "contribution."

A "theory" is, I think, a somewhat intellectualized term for a concept or an idea that has gradually been worked out by an individual on the basis of work and experimentation and reading and meditation. It is tentative, and it is a hypothesis in that it remains to be proved or disproved. It is a sort of intelligent working frame of reference that can be used until something better comes along. I think of a theory, however, as somewhat more pragmatic, based more on empirical evidence, than is a philosophy. A theory might be related more to the "I think," when it comes to life and living, whereas a philosophy is closer to the "I feel." They are obviously closely related, and one could hardly accept a theory of human behavior that did not reflect his own philosophical concepts about man and his behavior and his living. Thus, while I will distinguish theory from philosophy, the reader may assume that I see them as very much interrelated, and that I could just as easily use the term "theory and/or philosophy."

I would like to write first on what I think of as my philosophical base, then on the theory which is related to it. I would like then to look at some of my own ideas about the American school and teaching and learning, and out of this to develop a concept of the counseling process and the person of the school counselor.

SOME PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPTS

Man has the same problem with his philosophy as does organized religion; often it sounds great, but there seems to be a tremendous gap between the philosophy that the individual, or the church, preaches, and the actual day-to-day operational philosophy of life and living. What I state here I see, consciously, as my basis of operation with others, particularly with those whom I have encountered as students and clients. The extent to which they would agree with me, of course, I cannot say.

1. It is a basic tenet that man is the determiner of the culture. This in no way contradicts the obvious fact that man is, to a profound degree, a condi-

tioned product of his culture. But *man came first*, and it is man who produces the culture. Cultural change does not just happen; it is a human product. Thus man can have some say in his fate, or he *can*, willy-nilly, accept his role as the product of a kindly or vengeful culture. Among the pious, culture is often seen in terms of a supernatural deity (*it is God's will*); whereas among the more secular it is simply seen as fate (*that's the way it is*). A less determined and more existential view sees man as having to accept the responsibility of choice and decision in his own life. Attitudes toward race and religion and sex and ethnic background may mean that one person is the recipient of more human abuse than is another, but this does not mean that the individual *cannot have some say in how he feels and what he does about that which others do to him*. No human being can ever, with total accuracy, say, "I did it because I had to . . ." One has to agree that somewhere along the line a choice was made, and in this case the choice was to do what "I didn't want to do." It is never totally accurate to say that "I didn't want to do it." One never has to do what one does not wish to do; it is very simply a question of what penalty one is willing to pay for doing what one wishes. A more accurate statement than "I didn't want to do it" would be "I was unwilling to pay the price for doing what I wanted to do, and for this reason I am doing what I am doing." Very often, of course, the price that one refuses to pay is minimal — the loss of a pay raise, a low grade instead of a high grade, criticism instead of praise from one who might have been a friend — or it may be a major price, such as jail or death.

Such a philosophy, of course, makes life more spartan, since one cannot easily rationalize one's behavior toward one's fellows. When someone comfortably says, "Well, I can see that I dislike my white (or black) brothers because of my conditioning," the existential reply is, "So what? What are you going to do now? Are you going to keep on disliking them because of your conditioning, or are you going to ask yourself 'How stupid can I be?' No one *has* to dislike someone because of a difference in the color of his skin. Are you going to accept the responsibility of either staying the way you are or making some change in your attitude? You do have a choice. What is it going to be?"

Man, then, cannot excuse himself because of the harsh nature of a capricious God. He is born with certain assets and certain liabilities, and one must be cautious about assuming that what appear to be assets or liabilities are actually that. *It is not what one has that is the major determiner of the future for the vast majority of mankind, but rather what one does with what one has*, and this ability to deal with one's life is an indication of a high level of individual freedom.

2. If one is nothing but a victim of the culture, to be tossed hither and thither by chance events and the whims of nature, then any concept of individual freedom is, of course, simply a happy illusion. On the other hand, if one conceives of human freedom as an individual matter, to be determined by each individual, then total freedom for each human being is a real possibility. It is a goal which may never be achieved, but it is a worthy goal

toward which one might dedicate his life. When I alone determine the extent to which I am free, then the oppressor, whether hidden or manifest, can never chain me, even though I may be shackled. The other may have the power to kill me, but never totally to destroy me.

Children soon learn from their parents, from the school, and from the church, that freedom is an external matter determined by someone else, and that they thus have no control over their individual freedom. It seems to me of crucial importance that the school, while accepting the legal and practical dependence of the child, help him to develop individual freedom within the very real limitations which surround him. A child may be forced to experience a certain educational curriculum, but he does have the freedom to affect, in some way, just what he gets out of that educational experience. A child may have little or no control over the kind of teacher he happens to have, but he can control his reactions to that teacher. The individual freedom of some children is such that they can actually learn from a poor teacher; such a child is having some effect on what he learns, rather than being totally dependent on the teacher, and thus, of course, learning little or nothing from a poor teacher.

The freedom to become, the freedom to be: this is the real freedom, and for this, of course, the individual must be willing to pay a price. In some societies, such as the United States, the price the individual must pay is often quite modest, because other generations have already paid a heavy price. But even in the United States and other so-called "free" countries, one must be willing, if necessary, to pay a very high price for the maintenance and strengthening of one's individual freedom. Such a person is free to live and free to die, he is free to love and free to hate, he is free to experience sorrow and ecstasy. Despite all the uncontrollable factors which push within and upon him, he is the one who determines the extent of his freedom, and in this sense, of course, he will always be free. He is the maker of the culture, not its victim.

3. The worth and the dignity of the human individual is an obvious correlative to these two basic tenets. The government is the servant and the organized voice of the people, not its master. In a free society one obeys a law simply because it is a regulation of human behavior which the majority of the citizens have found to be desirable. In a truly free society there will obviously be a minimum of such laws, since a truly free individual will have no need to impose himself on others or to do things which will be obviously destructive to a large number of his fellows. The more autocratic the society, the more laws are necessary to control the population. The mark of a decaying free society is an increase in the number of laws, usually involving restrictions and prohibitions.

Even in a relatively free society such as the United States, the individual must take the responsibility for maintaining his own freedom. In a sense, the individual in a free society owes the state nothing, nor does the state owe him anything. In the long run, the law of one's conscience must take precedence over the law of the land. In the United States today, we see an increasing number of responsible citizens, who have contributed much to the welfare of

their fellow man, deliberately violating a law of the land because they cannot in conscience obey it. When this happens, all those who value individual freedom should be concerned. The crucial question is not how one can stop the dissenter, but rather, whether something is wrong with some of the laws of the land when responsible and caring citizens openly defy them.

For the counselor and the teacher this tenet simply means that the child comes first. The school is there for the benefit of the child; its purpose is to serve him, not to enslave him. The only reason for the existence of a school is the children who populate it. The positive development of each individual child, as an individual, should be the goal of the school, rather than the mass production of human robots, which is the necessary goal of the school in an autocratic society.

4. Philosophically, it would seem that we can make more out of our lives, and live more fully, if we live in a world of today rather than a world of tomorrow. Some people appear to be predominantly absorbed with what has gone by, and we hear much about "how it used to be," or "the good old days," or "when I was young." All of this is understandable, but it is wasteful of life, since what is gone is gone. In a way, this living in yesterday is a culturally acceptable form of schizophrenia. It is a running away rather than a running back. It is a refusal to face the only real issues of living — namely, *the issues of now and today*. Individuals who live for tomorrow are much the same; their lives are spent as if there were no today, only a tomorrow. A powerful source of this attitude has been the Christian religion. It has tended traditionally to place more emphasis on life in the next world than on the only world we will know during our lifetime — the one we live in now. The Hebrew prophets would appear to have been more concerned with the life of man on earth today than were the Christian apostles, and in its two thousand-year history, the Christian church has hardly shown a consistent concern with the lot of man on this earth. Indeed, it has frequently allied itself with a corrupt and autocratic state to impede the development of individual man.

This existential concept of the importance of life today does not mean that one ignores the lessons of the past, or the fact that man will have a tomorrow. But the only life we know on this earth is the life we live today, and it is this life which should be the center of attention. It is of little point to say that there is racial and religious prejudice in America because of events which happened some time ago. Nor do pious platitudes to the effect that "things will be better in the next century if we will just be patient and wait" mean much to the victim of prejudice. We are living today, now, and for each one of us the basic question is not, "What did you do yesterday?" or, "What do you plan to do tomorrow?" but rather, "What are you doing now?"

5. While we all know, in a cognitive sense, that we are creatures of mind and emotion, we often appear, particularly in educational institutions, to ignore this as a philosophical tenet of operation. As one goes up the educational ladder, emotions appear to be of less and less importance in the learning process. The university student is regarded by the great majority of pro-

fessors as a cognitive creature, capable of reacting in a totally rational manner to all issues, questions, and problems, intellectual or otherwise. Thus teaching becomes more important than learning, and the university teacher is acceptable as long as he knows what he is talking about; whether he is able to communicate and thus help the student to learn often appears to be of minimal importance. The result is that a good grade often bears little relationship to the ability to think and reason, with feeling, but indicates rather a high-level ability to retain data, often quite meaningless.

If a child is accepted as a creature of mind and emotion, then the teacher and the counselor must be as sensitive to what the child feels as they are to what he thinks. When the teacher screams, "Sit down and learn your lesson," the child is learning a lesson, but not the lesson that the teacher has insisted he must learn. All counselors are doubtless aware of situations in which the client has, for example, come to understand intellectually the absurd reasons behind his feelings of guilt, but the feeling itself continues. One does not think of oneself in terms of an inherently basic and well-entrenched human feeling. One must feel and experience the feeling before one can change it. The ineffectiveness of simple knowing in problems of human behavior is well illustrated by racial and religious prejudice among people who, in an intellectual sense, "know better," but still carry with them strong feelings of prejudice toward others. Thus, if human behavior is to change for the better, if man is to realize his full development as a self-actualized creature, a basic tenet must be the acceptance of man as a creature who feels as well as thinks. Indeed, the progress of mankind is probably more dependent on what a person feels about what he thinks than on what he thinks about what he feels. The ability of man to offer a non-possessive and non-demanding love to his fellow man is a better indication of his membership in the human species than is his level of intellectual prowess.

SOME THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

What has been said above is probably as much theoretical as it is philosophical, and we may discern from it very simple theoretical assumptions regarding the nature of man and the learning process.

1. Man is capable of growth and development. He has the potential for development into a high-level, self-actualized creature. He has at birth the potential for development, but he is born with neither sin nor virtue, good nor evil inherent in him. He can intercede and affect the processes which are molding and conditioning him, and he can thus be a factor in determining his own fate.

2. What we believe is not an empirical fact, but it is an empirical fact that we believe. Our beliefs determine in large part our perception of the behavior and attitudes of others, and this perception, in turn, affects the self-perception of the other. Much evidence has been found over the years to indicate that children become the way they are perceived by the adults with whom they have most intimate contact, usually their parents and their teachers. Change

even takes place in the sacred and supposedly immutable I.Q. Children who are viewed as "intelligent" become intelligent, even though test data may indicate that they are "dull," while children viewed as "dull" become so despite test data to the contrary.

3. Man may learn to exist by the suppression of his feelings and the development of his intellect, or by the development of his feelings and the suppression of his intellect. If man is to learn to live, however, the development of both his feelings and his intellect must be encouraged. The self-actualized man is able to be open to his thoughts and his feelings on any issue. Living is synonymous with changing, and the highly developed man is one who accepts life as a process of change. There is change within each person, as each day he learns something new, as well as change within each generation. Thus those who oppose change, and try to hold man at a certain level, are opposing living and the continuing development of man.

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL

Whether or not the above statements can be graced with the name of "theory," we can formulate from them several basic tenets about the school and its functions:

1. Since the individual is more important than the culture, for the very simple reason that the culture is created by the individual, the school should be viewed as a center of learning whose basic function is the full development of the self of the child. It should be a place of experimentation rather than imposition. It should house the knowledge of the past, but one purpose should be to assist in the development of new knowledge. The importance of the intellectual quest in the school is not the answer which one might eventually discover, but rather the process in which the learner engages to find the answer. Thus there is no end to the intellectual quest, and an answer is simply a resting point before continuing the search for the evolving truth.

2. Since the school is built and staffed for the purpose of the self-development of the students, it would seem logical that it should be "student-centered," and that the curriculum should be geared to the individual needs of the child rather than to the gross needs of the culture. Operating on the principle of the basic potential of the child for self-development, the school will encourage creativity and individual differences. What the child thinks and feels about what the teacher thinks and feels will be of some importance; the extent to which the child can simply remember what the teacher says will be of minimal importance. Competition with self will be encouraged, and development will be measured by the progress of the individual, not by his degree of progress as compared to some national or state norm. Children will know where they stand in comparison with others, but the basic question will be, "Can I do better than I am doing?" not, "Can I do better than thus and-so particular group of children?"

3. All personnel in schools should have a humanistic orientation to life and to people. While they should be scholarly and knowledgeable individuals,

their prime characteristic should be a deep concern for others and the ability to help the individual in the development of his self, in the process of learning to become.

COUNSELORS AND THE COUNSELING PROCESS

Even in the school described above there would still be a need for a counselor. The teacher's knowledge is concentrated in subject areas, whereas the counselor concentrates primarily on the person and his behavior and difficulties. The teacher still has the authority to evaluate, to discipline and to impose upon the child, even though this is never done, whereas the counselor has no authority and his relationship with the client is not evaluative. The teacher will continue to work with larger numbers of children, and simply will not have the time to give individual attention to many children. Thus the counseling process is simple, yet unique. It is simple in that it is a non-demanding, nonevaluative relationship in which the client may experience intimacy and love from another human being without any demands or risks; it is a relationship in which the client can be who he is with another human being, and constantly experience acceptance and honesty. In a sense, the counseling relationship provides a mode of human experiencing in which one can be open and unguarded and can, with this security, possibly look more deeply at oneself and pursue more effectively the question, "Who am I, who do I wish to be, and where do I wish to go?"

The values of the counselor are thus of crucial importance. If we acknowledge the importance of individual freedom, and believe in a society in which the dignity and the rights of individual men are the only reason for the existence of the state, and of appendages of the state such as the school, then the values of the counselor might be characterized in some of the following ways:

1. An openness and a flexibility which testify that the counselor is not bound to any dogma, religious or secular, professional or personal. The beliefs of a person are part of his experiencing and living, and his values are open to change as people and circumstances change. The counselor does not believe because he has to; he accepts personal responsibility for his beliefs. All his beliefs are thus characterized by rationality, and he does not continue to believe what has been shown to be intellectually false.

2. The counselor regards belief as an area in which we do not know the answers, in an empirical sense, and thus recognizes that it is irrational to argue that one's personal belief is right and another's is wrong. In a religious sense this means that one can be devout and still accept the possibility of error, and this in turn means that religion is an area of uncertainty rather than certainty. "I believe" must never be confused with "I know." There is little point in closing one's mind to a colleague, or killing one's fellow man because of a differing belief, if one accepts the possibility that the colleague or the fellow man might be right.

Since belief is a matter of faith, it would seem logical to suggest that the counselor should believe positively. Why not hold to the belief that man

can grow and develop, and that he has within him the seeds of self-actualization, rather than holding to the belief that man is vicious and evil, and must spend his life battling the evil forces that reside within him? When one can say to another person, "You can do it, you can stand up straight and tall, you can experience freedom," what happens in the human relationship is quite different than when one views the other person as evil and hopeless and condemned.

3. The counselor will personally exemplify a high level of self-actualization and personal freedom, and he will thus have no need to impose on others. He may serve as a model, not to be imitated and followed, but as a source from which the other person can draw strength and gradually develop his own concept of self, his own person, and thus become capable of experiencing a high level of personal freedom.

This then is a very brief picture of where I stand on what I regard as the crucial issues in learning and in counseling. Being to a degree — but only to a degree — a conditioned human creature, I have explained in my autobiographical statement only in part how I arrived at some of my philosophical and theoretical concepts: some, no doubt, very much like those of other authors in this book, and some quite different.

Selected Writings of Dugald S. Arbuckle

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student colleagues who subsisted on one starchy meal a day. The fee-payment deadline each term saw the formation of long, special queues of students who were unable to defray tuition costs and who, each in turn, approached the bursar's counter with the identical survival motive but bearing a highly individualistic and often ingenious explanation of his special hardship coupled with a straightfaced assurance that he would soon have the necessary funds. Of course, some of these destitute students were turned away and they soon disappeared from the campus. I have always felt that I was one of the lucky ones. To supplement a small, regular allowance from home and occasional kitchen work for meals in the fraternity houses, I applied for and obtained National Youth Administration student employment on the campus. My monthly government check of \$12.60 for thirty-six hours of work at the rate of thirty-five cents per hour seemed to me then a handsome figure. Judged against its contribution to my personal welfare, it was. Because someone cared, I was deeply grateful to my college and to my government and I have remained so. I am certain that my strong conviction that the nation, through its elected officials, has an inescapable moral responsibility to promote the general welfare and to widen the opportunity for the civilized self-direction of its citizens through enlightened legislation dates significantly from my N.Y.A. experience.

Penn State was in many ways a rather conservative institution during my undergraduate student days. Yet I was fortunate in having been exposed to three or four professors who challenged us to question sacrosanct assumptions about the inherent virtue of the social order. These few men were chiefly responsible for liberating me from the blind chauvinism and the self-assured pieties which were the common legacy of the efficient indoctrination factories of that day, the elementary and secondary schools. They taught me that a healthy people have the courage to question themselves, to see error, hypocrisy, and self-deception where they exist, and to understand that it is proper to want to change things. In retrospect, I realize that I had been developing a readiness to embrace the maverick's spirit. The evidences of racial, religious, and social class intolerance were all about me as was, indeed, the gaping void between those with economic and political power and those who saw themselves as powerless to alter either their own condition or the system that hemmed them in.

Indignation and rebelliousness among youth are, of course, self-renewing from generation to generation. While much has been made of the contrast between the social and political activism of today's college youth and the claimed indifference and passivity of previous student generations, I do not see that the distinction can be so simply stated. My student era had a smaller proportion of dissenters and reformers. Moreover, society and the campuses of the 1930's were, I am sure, far more tradition-bound, less attentive to the voices of youth, and far less tolerant of departures from orthodoxy. And yet there were more than a few among us who, in the words of Thoreau, heard a different drummer. We established and independently managed student dining and lodging cooperatives in accordance with the Rochdale principles, organized a profit-free used textbook exchange, spoke out against American complicity with Franco and his odious Falange during the Spanish civil war, inveighed against the military establishment, and held peace meetings (until Hitler's legions overran Poland to trigger World War II in early September, 1939). The literature

of social protest did not escape our attention. Among the novels we read were Steinbeck's *Tortilla Flat* and *The Grapes of Wrath* and Sinclair Lewis's *Babbitt*. We were attracted, too, to dramas of realism which depicted the wretchedness and sordidness of poverty and war, such as Sidney Kingsley's *Dead End* and Irwin Shaw's *Bury the Dead*.

My generation utterly lacked the confidence of today's youth that a college degree insures employability. I still prize a snapshot of the graduating seniors in our student cooperative house, sitting on the lawn under the banner proclaiming, "WPA—Here We Come!" It was partly my uncertainty about the economic worth of my college training that fed my vocational indecisiveness. But it was also my lack of psychological comfort with the several curricula I briefly explored that caused me to vacillate. I entered college with the tentative intent of majoring in journalism, then switched successively to education, a general major, and public administration. It has helped me, I think, in my vocational counseling with students to remember my own uneasy state when I was in the limbo of transition between fields of choice.

In the middle of my junior year, I visited the office of the professor from whom I had taken my introductory psychology course the year before. I recall sharing with him my mounting concern over not having arrived at a satisfactory vocational choice and then telling him that of all the courses I had thus far taken, psychology had stimulated me the most but I really did not know what use one could make of psychology as an occupation other than to teach it. My professor introduced me to Robert Bernreuter who had recently come to Penn State from Stanford to establish and direct the Psycho-Educational Clinic. As a direct and immediate result of counseling by Dr. Bernreuter at the clinic, I decided on a career in psychology. Whether my movement toward occupational psychology and the attendant issues of vocational counseling and career development was influenced most by the particular emphasis in my training program at Penn State, the specific circumstances surrounding the positions I have since held, or by my own early history of protracted vocational indecision, I cannot say. I do know, however, that the memory of my personal experience with floundering and the subsequent resolution of the immediate problem through the intervention of vocational counseling has been a recurrent theme as I have tried to deal with the intriguing phenomena of career development over the past thirty years.

Before leaving Penn State, I had the opportunity to teach courses in general psychology, statistical methods, and special ability testing. My assignments also included counseling in the Psycho-Educational Clinic and the V.A. Guidance Center and two years of personnel selection research in the Engineering, Science, and Management War Training program during World War II. The appeal of Minnesota derived chiefly from my acquaintance with the very substantial work of such men as Donald Paterson, E. G. Williamson, Richard M. Elliott, Gilbert Wrenn, John Darley, and Starke Hathaway. When the invitation came in 1946 to join the faculty of the innovative two-year General College at Minnesota, I seized it. I was soon to discover that Minnesota's eminence lay not only in applied fields of psychology such as student personnel work, counseling, and industrial work but in systematic psychology as well. What particularly delighted me was to find myself located at an institution in which applied and theoretical-experimental psychologists worked closely and productively together in a

climate of high trust and mutual regard. One of my peak intellectual experiences spanned a full academic year during which I sat as a member of a remarkable seminar, led by Herbert Feigl, Paul Meehl, and Michael Scriven, on the philosophy of science applied to psychoanalysis and the behavioral sciences.

My work over the years at Minnesota has been centered principally in the General College but has also included substantial involvement in the counselor education and psychological foundations departments within the College of Education. My research interests and my writings have ranged over such topics as nonintellectual factors in scholastic performance, logical and theoretical problems of counseling research, the counseling process, information storage and retrieval, group techniques of vocational guidance, the convergence of vocational guidance objectives and methods upon curriculum, and career development as a socialization process. It is the last-named subject which has interested me most since about 1962. Currently I am completing an extended study of the career patterns of junior college students across the country.

Apart from Minnesota, assignments have taken me to the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation at Teachers College, Columbia University (sabbatical furlough), to New York University as a summer visiting professor (three times), and to approximately twenty other colleges and universities as a consultant or conference lecturer. I have also served as a consultant for the Asia Foundation and for the U.S. Office of Education and other federal agencies, as a visiting lecturer in Japan and other Asian countries, and as president of the National Vocational Guidance Association (1967-1968).

Like other men I have my cultural heroes, and like theirs, mine will suggest the human qualities I hold high. Among the men I most admire are Albert Einstein, Robert Oppenheimer, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, Bertrand Russell, and B. F. Skinner. It is the towering intellect conjoined with profound humane concern that attracts me to the images of such giants. My social philosophy is one of secularist and humanist orientation. Whatever limitations and irrationalities mark man, he must learn to stride upon his own feet and to manage his own destiny. The passion for good deeds ought not to flow from a desire to please a higher order or from the fear of the consequences of acting otherwise, but from the unwavering and matter-of-course conviction that one's fellow men merit the noblest deeds of which one is capable.

The vindication of counseling and the other helping professions, then, lies in assisting individuals to master themselves and to learn to conduct their lives more humanely. In my view, the historical record of counseling can give those of us in this work only limited cause for pride. It is, rather, the uncommon promise of counseling that I find exhilarating. It is in the prospect of what it can become that I find a comfortable identity.

Career Development: A Future for Counseling

School counselors need a theoretical framework from which to work. There is every possibility that such structure will come from career development theory. In "Career Development: A Future for Counseling,"¹ Henry

Borow moves from a historical perspective into a discussion of professionalism as a barrier to progress. Counselors should find most helpful Borow's conceptual models of school counseling and his discussion of occupational growth.

THE HEADLONG DASH of the physical sciences and engineering technologies, or even the assault of contemporary medicine, genetics, and related life sciences upon hitherto unmet problems of human welfare is not likely to lead counselors to a sense of complacency over their own progress. Organized guidance in the United States dates roughly from the turn of the twentieth century. Henry Ford's first automobile was less than ten years old at the time. Weismann had advanced the germ plasm theory of heredity only a few years before. Orville and Wilbur Wright were making ready to launch their first controlled power-driven flight. Einstein's work on the special theory of relativity had not yet been published. Pavlov's seminal publication on conditioned reflexes lay a quarter century in the future, and ENIAC, the first computer to be built entirely of electronic components, was not to appear for still another twenty years beyond that.

How much improvement marks today's counseling by contrast with the early conceptions of Jesse B. Davis, Frank Parsons, Meyer Bloomfield, and Eli Weaver? James McKeen Cattell, among others, had already established a basis for the objective appraisal of individual differences before 1900 and had even provided a prototype of the essential technology of measurement in guidance. Parsons developed a cognitive rationale for imparting salient information to clients needing help with personal planning and, further, identified the interview as the critical medium of communication. Wissler and Thorndike introduced a 1900-era use of the methods of correlational analysis to determine the predictive validity of their behavior-assessment tools. Granted the expanded comprehensiveness of today's conceptual models of counseling, the refined understanding of the interview process, the recognition of psychodynamic factors in behavioral analysis and modification, and the latter-day efforts at explication and clarification of counseling outcomes, are we seventy years "better" than our precursors?

PROFESSIONALISM AS A BARRIER TO PROGRESS

In the process of becoming formalized, a profession not only makes its tenets and practices explicit but also creates the machinery by which they are transmitted to its members and enforced. Each profession sets standards of training, specifies the requirements for entering the field as a bona fide practitioner, establishes codes of competent and ethical practice, stands behind the competence and special prerequisites of its members, and projects an image of the expertise and high social worth of the field to the public.

None of these functions could be carried out effectively were it not that the profession also establishes among its members the conditions for a com-

mon interest and purpose. Thus, for example, each profession evolves an idiosyncratic argot which links its members by a communication mystique. In some disciplines, solemn pledges further bind the members to a central loyalty; as illustrated by the Hippocratic Oath in medicine. Through such controlling techniques as these, the professional person acquires a durable set of attitudes and conventions which foster allegiance to his field and a strong sense of identity with his fellow professionals. He knows, then, how he is to conduct himself, and his professional group clarifies the issues in his discipline and makes him aware of new directions and strategies.

It should be quite obvious that this regularization of professional behavior is purchased at a price to society. In promoting its legitimate goals and standards, any profession constantly runs the risk of becoming parochial, self-serving, and self-protective. In its zeal for growth and influence, it may allow part of its original social purpose to wither. It may, as Gross² puts it, "claim for itself a mandate to tell the society what is good for it." And it may, further, perceive a threat to its autonomy and distinctiveness when it must collaborate with professionals in other fields. Professionals often resent and devalue the criticisms of interlopers and resist suggestions for change in policy and method. Indeed, the institutionalization by which a profession nourishes itself and builds in its members an effective commitment to a set of principles also creates the climate for a stultifying ethnocentrism. In short, it produces a tenacious and uncritical adherence to old beliefs and practices and an undue caution about proposed new ones.

It would be absurd to claim that the counseling profession has circumvented these difficulties. For counseling to progress, it is essential that those in the field see its shortcomings. Some of the vexing problems confronting the field appear to be inseparable from the process of professionalization. Others may stem from the peculiar history of counseling and the institutional nature of school counseling, but an understanding of the limitations and errant directions of past and current counseling is prerequisite to a credible mapping of our future course. What follows is a partial enumeration of deterrents to the advancement of counseling, particularly as it has become institutionalized in schools and colleges.

Shortcomings of Counseling

1. In the historical struggle to establish guidance as a distinct professional specialty within education, counseling frequently insulated itself from other personnel and functions of the school. For example, in rightfully declaring that his role was not that of a disciplinarian, the counselor often cut himself off from the student who was at cross-purposes with the school's values and expectations and who most needed his understanding and help.

2. In pursuing the doctrine of separation of roles within the school, counseling has at times set up artificial boundaries between the work of the counselor and that of the classroom teacher. One regrettable consequence is that the counselor is divorced from the curriculum, and is not involved with the design and evaluation of curricular units having guidance related outcomes.

3. The counselor's tendency to function more or less autonomously has likewise restricted his efforts to collaborate with out-of-school guidance agencies. Planned experiences which facilitate educational and career decisions extend, of course, well beyond what can be offered within the school. Some of the most significant vocational guidance activities are today being offered in such non-school settings as vocational rehabilitation centers, youth opportunity centers, and voluntary community agencies. Yet, while the situation in educational institutions is improving, it is still common to find the school counselor out of touch with these sources and failing to make use of them as referral centers to promote the psychosocial growth of young people.

4. By tradition, counseling has been unduly technique-centered. In its earlier period, counseling preoccupied itself with the question of individual differences, developing tools for testing, diagnosis, and prediction; another early specialty was the development of techniques for the dissemination of occupational information. Following World War II, the counseling profession concerned itself with interview methods. That systems of interviewing commonly derived from personality theory was a fact often cheerfully overlooked, for in practice and in counselor-education programs alike, the emphasis was on technique. The trouble with undue stress on methods is of two sorts. First, understanding of human behavior is improperly subordinated to understanding of the practical methods by which behavior is supposed to be modified. Secondly, interviewing and counseling are falsely treated as identical concepts. To perceive the interview with the student as the whole of counseling is to lose sight of a rich variety of activities which, when judiciously used, and subsequently examined in the counseling interview, help nourish the student's development of self-understanding and effective coping behavior.

5. Probably because so much of counselor education has emphasized method at the expense of behavior dynamics, counselors have frequently worked with students on an intuitive common-sense basis rather than within the sophisticated framework provided by the behavioral sciences. While there is a steady flow of new textbook conceptual models which depict counseling as a systematic process of behavior change,³ there is not much evidence that many school counselors have made use of motivational theory and research or that they approach counseling problems as complex tasks of human learning. The application of client-centered counseling theory in the 1940's and 1950's and the current interest in behavioral counseling represent exceptions to this general charge.

6. The field of counseling, which ought to be strongly committed to the assumption that student behavior can be modified and improved, has, ironically enough, a history of embracing a static and fatalistic conception of psychological nature. Traditional, actuarial counseling, which focuses upon the prediction of educational and vocational choice, is a clear example of a static view of behavior. It accepts the student's present constellation of assets and liabilities almost as if they have been wholly biologically programmed,

and is concerned only with what the student may be expected to do with them in a competitive setting. When school counselors, on the basis of test scores and scholastic records, busy themselves exclusively with matters of curriculum choice and selection of a college or vocational school, they limit themselves to the prediction function of counseling and ignore the potentially powerful behavior-modification function.

7. Counseling has not dealt forthrightly with the problem of fostering mature attitudes and values in students. Reticence about influencing attitudes appears to be partly traceable to a long-standing conviction that the counselor should keep his own personal values removed from counseling. This belief has been fortified among school counselors by a precept borrowed from client-centered counseling, a precept which requires the counselor to assume a non-judgmental attitude toward the counsellee's feelings and values. While the principle probably has serious merit in psychotherapy with adult clients, it is debatable that it should always be applied in the counseling of students with normal developmental problems. In the process of building a new identity, youth needs and seeks out models of adult belief and behavior which it can find acceptable. A student can hardly be expected to find such a model in a counselor who shies from presenting moral alternatives for his consideration. The tendency of some counselors to mistake a presentation of value positions for subtle coercion of student beliefs, and therefore to avoid making all value judgments, has enfeebled the counseling of school youth who deserve much better.

8. The typical school counselor has, at least until recently, been spectacularly unsuccessful in working with culturally disadvantaged youth. Unfortunately, biases in counseling have not been unlike typical classroom biases in favoring children from homes which teach high-achieving, socially conforming, and upwardly mobile behavior. The rewards and values which the school finds effective in dealing with middle-class youth are frequently meaningless to the socially alienated child of lower-class origin. Nor has counseling been impressively imaginative thus far in developing adequate substitutes for the conventional verbal methods of communicating with nonacademic and socially disadvantaged students. It is hardly to the credit of counselors that the original calls for radical change and the impetus for new types of education and guidance-related programs, while finding ready acceptance within the profession, came predominately from individuals clearly outside the discipline, such as Kenneth B. Clark, Frank Riessman, and Arthur Pearl.

9. What evidence we have suggests a yawning gap between the idealized counselor and the factual record of how the counselor deploys his time. In many schools, apparently, pressures on the counselor remain high to help maintain a smooth institutional operation by performing a variety of clerical and semi-administrative chores. Necessary as some of these duties are, they are only tangentially related to counseling and they make inroads in time which might otherwise be devoted to direct and constructive contacts with students. Perhaps the most alarming aspect of this condition is that more

than a few counselors appear to feel more comfortable with these trivial house-keeping duties than with the more demanding and educationally significant responsibilities for which they have presumably been trained.

CONCEPTUAL MODELS OF SCHOOL COUNSELING

To set a course for the future of counseling, it seems wise to take cognizance of the profession's checkered past. The history of the field has not been marked by linear progression from a simplistic model to a complex one having similar premises and objectives. On the contrary, it has experienced a variety of sometimes highly divergent emphases—often reflecting different assumptions about the nature of behavior and different hoped-for outcomes. The dominant conceptual models which have featured in the history of counseling and accounted for many of its lively controversies are enumerated below. Since a number of these emphases have existed contemporaneously and, indeed, have sometimes been combined in hybrid models, strict interpretations of chronological ordering should not be placed upon the list.

Intuitive Models

Conceptions of "counseling" involving exhortation, parables, and moral suasion. This is the oldest and yet undoubtedly still the most universally applied approach by which adults attempt to influence the behavior of youth. More than any other, it marks the user as untrained in counseling.

Matching Models

The rational model or method of "true reasoning" identified with Frank Parsons' pioneering work at the Vocation Bureau of Boston and so labeled by Parsons himself. Among practicing school and agency counselors, this remains today perhaps the prevailing conception of counseling.

Trait Measurement Model

This is the scheme most heavily influenced by the field of applied psychology. It owes its original appeal and durability to its emphasis on objectivity and its claim to scientific method. In actual practice its weaknesses are its subordination of the educational-occupational information function, its neglect of affective aspects of communication in counseling, and its confounding of the aims and strategies of individual counseling with those of personnel selection.

Information Dissemination Model

In some respects, this model contrasts most sharply in emphasis with that of trait measurement. Generally, it assumes that the counsellee's problem is chiefly a lack of educational and occupational information, and that such information should be selectively supplied by the counselor. Widely used for individual and group guidance in schools, this scheme represents an oversimplification and distortion of the original Parsonian matching model.

Guidance Through Training-and-Work Tryouts

The conception of counseling commonly found in the field of vocational education. Although this approach has become less feasible as an independent vocational guidance method as the formal educational requirements for entry to occupations have increased, it remains potentially useful in a comprehensive guidance program in schools offering cooperative vocational education (i.e., guided work experience) programs.

Disciplinary Counseling

The view of guidance as dissuasion and aversive control of deviant behavior in the school. A position once commonly held by school administrators on guidance, it is a stereotype of the counselor's function which he has been able to escape in most schools.

Guidance As Psychotherapy

The view of counseling which emphasizes the emotional re-education (i.e., improved ego identity, self-acceptance, and environmental coping). By contrast with the other models described above, this one focuses less sharply on decision-making and more clearly upon behavior change, particularly the improved management of one's internal psychological resources. The chief thrust was provided by Carl Rogers and the client-centered therapy movement. Some authorities, like Leona Tyler, see the treatment role of school and college counselors as involving "minimal change therapy" in contrast to the clinical psychologists' concern with deeper intrapsychic factors in personality difficulty.

Guidance As Educational Diagnosis and Remediation

The concept of guidance which stresses the improvement of the student's scholastic performance. This model portrays the counselor as diagnostician and learning skills specialist, particularly with the academic underachiever. While, historically, the success of school counseling in dealing with this area has not been impressive, current national concern with the problems of the culturally and economically disadvantaged is putting renewed emphasis upon the academic improvement objective in guidance.

Development Facilitation: a Socialization Model

The emerging concept of the school counselor which views him as an environmental arranger and social catalyst. This model promises to find its strongest appeal among those counselors who are beginning to attach increasing importance to career development in school youth. We shall return to this concept toward the close of the essay.

THE DIFFICULTY OF GROWING UP OCCUPATIONALLY

Starting about the time of World War II, school counseling began to reject the emphasis upon vocational guidance as providing too narrow a framework

within which to engage the student in his attempts at personal problem-solving. We have more recently begun to understand that it is in his search for a comfortable role as worker-to-be that youth faces many of his critical problems of social maturation. Stated differently, we may say that the struggle for personal development and psychological autonomy, particularly during adolescence, is inextricably linked to problems of career development for most American youth. Robert Havighurst, Marcia Freedman, Theodore Caplow, Donald Super, Erik Erikson, and other writers either directly assert or strongly imply that learning to work out a realistic and comfortable plan for vocational life represents a central developmental task for young people. If one were to accept the validity of this observation, the cultivation of adequate career development then becomes a goal of acknowledged significance for the counselor.

What makes the problem a particularly thorny challenge for youth and counselor alike is that our changing society has made it increasingly difficult for young people to "grow up" occupationally. The same affluent society which has given youth more education of higher quality, an increased capacity to consume goods and services, and expanded geographic mobility has, paradoxically, established formidable barriers against either direct or vicarious occupational exploration and experience. Consequently, it is no longer easy for most of them to know about the world of work of which they are soon expected, even required, to become functioning members.

Societal barriers increasingly wall youth off from early, full-time participation in the labor force. The principal restriction is the demand for more education, but the related qualifications of age and previous work experience are also involved. Thus early and direct experience with work is open to fewer youth. In the earlier decades of the century, it was the practice to use age fourteen as the basal age for employment. The average age at which today's youth enters the labor force is estimated at about twenty. For those in the age 16-to-19 range who seek work, unemployment rates run substantially higher than for older job seekers of comparable education. A clear clue to current social tensions may be found in the 25 percent unemployment rate among nonwhite teen-agers (aged 16 to 19), a rate which is two-and-one-half that of white teen-agers.

An increasing number of jobs are either more intricate and complex than hitherto or they have become fragments of larger work operations. Moreover, an increasing number of people are employed by large-scale organizations, and there are fewer opportunities than formerly for children to watch parents firsthand at work or talk to them comprehendingly about their work, much less the opportunity to work alongside them as, for example, in the case of the farm boy or the son of a small shopkeeper. Occupational illiteracy is thus a common phenomenon among American youth of all ages. It is as if they saw the ready-made world about them as the product of geological time rather than the creation of an accumulated and continuing human culture of which they are a part.

Accompanying the growing complexity of the occupational world and the increasing divorcement of youth from work is the broadened freedom available to youth for personal decision-making, including decisions about curriculum and vocational plans. This extension of personal freedom would appear to be a consequence of the stress on psychological autonomy which, child development authorities note, has become a dominant value in child-rearing in much of American society, dating roughly from about 1920. Thus, one discovers that the phenomenon of occupational inheritance is now a minor factor in vocational choice in America. In a 1963 study of one thousand Chicago male subjects, Duncan and Hodge⁴ found only a 10 percent incidence of sons entering their fathers' occupations. I believe we can, with some confidence, surmise that many if not most of the 10 percent group represent examples of "forced inheritance" by which conditions of restricted opportunity and cultural deprivation ensnare the child and make it difficult for him to avoid entering the parent's low-status occupation. But for the majority there is increased responsibility for personal choice-making in vocational plans at a time when the options have become more numerous and puzzling and when youth probably has less acquaintance than did his forebears with some of the essential elements of choice.

The dilemma of occupational estrangement combined with freedom-of-choice suggests that there is a critical need for early and continuing developmental guidance. Since, as already noted, the transition to an effective worker role remains a central problem for most young Americans, we can better understand why identity diffusion and alienation from adult society become youth's bitter fruit. That today's counselor has an obligation to recognize and deal with this complex predicament seems inescapable.

BLUEPRINTING THE COUNSELOR'S FUNCTION IN CAREER DEVELOPMENT

The growing awareness in counseling circles of youth's occupational dilemma has been illuminated by research on the nature of career development. We know, for example, that many of the traits and dispositions learned in early childhood, while not immediately related to formal work roles, appear to have significant implications for subsequent occupational behavior; that children begin early to acquire a value system which is related to how they rank fields of work; that younger elementary school children tend to rank occupations according to their perceptions of the utilitarian value of such occupations for society; that upwardly aspiring college students are influenced in their occupational rankings and preferences more by the perceived power of a job to confer an attractive life style upon the individual who holds it than by its formal duties and requirements; that occupational information possessed by junior high school students is generally sharply limited and of questionable reliability; that there is relatively great instability in the occupational aspirations and preferences stated by secondary school youth; that vocational maturity, judged by stability and realism of preference and the ability

to state the rationale for the preferred choice, increases through the adolescent years; that secondary school and college students still name parents with high frequency as having influenced their occupational aspirations, although fewer parents are believed to designate specific occupational choices for children than formerly; that vocational counseling with junior high school students that centers upon making specific occupational choices is generally unprofitable; that youth with severe cultural handicaps are predisposed toward failure in both vocational planning and later work adjustment by (a) persistent feelings of personal inadequacy as worker-to-be, (b) lack of a sense of agency, whereby one simply does not believe in the efficacy of rational planning for one's future, and (c) lack of understanding of the sequence of preparatory steps leading to the announced vocational goal; that evidence appears to be accumulating that many American youth, rather than developing a set of positive interests in fields of work, develop instead a progressive set of biases against work fields which prematurely restrict the effective range of choices they are willing to consider; and, finally, that counselors can use the principles of verbal reinforcement to increase the level of information-seeking behavior in students.

Findings such as these, as well as the current, exploratory attempts at accelerating the rate of vocational development in school youth, suggest the soundness of the following principles:

1. Experiences to promote career development should be introduced beginning early in the elementary school years.
2. Educational and counseling experiences should allow student planning to be open-ended, should provide the widest possible range of options, and should avoid forcing early, fixed curricular and occupational goals.
3. Counselors should learn to work more freely and effectively with other staff members and with agents outside the school to provide exploratory experiences which facilitate the individual student's growth in responsible autonomy. They should work to ameliorate restrictive conditions of the environment which tend to alienate youth from the social order and interfere with his attempts to form a clearer sense of his own identity.
4. The historical barrier separating counseling and curriculum should be dissolved. Both counselors and teachers must become more aware of the potential of curriculum as a medium for fostering educational and career development. As a resource specialist who possesses useful knowledge of student motives and of developmental and learning processes, the counselor can contribute importantly to the analysis of problems of curriculum revision, particularly where culturally disadvantaged and poorly motivated youth are concerned.
5. Traditional approaches to presenting occupational information and fostering career development should be supplemented with newer gaming and simulated work-experience techniques. Expanded opportunity for reality testing through work-related experiences should be provided. Vocational educators must be led to deal with the exploratory, motiva-

tional, and self-clarification values of school-related work experience, as well as the occupational skills-learning value of such activity.

6. Finally, the counselor must become less the institutional conformist and more the benign interventionist, serving by virtue of his special training and convictions as a sensitive communicator within the school who makes it possible for youth to form the links to society they passionately seek.

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GAIL FREDERIC FARWELL

*Professor, University of Wisconsin**Autobiography*

I will try to write this autobiography in such a way as to depict the salient points of the developmental viewpoint as I understand their significance in my own life's experiences. There are many omissions; I have tried to include those things that seem most pertinent in influencing my view of guidance and counseling. This is my first attempt at writing an autobiography for publication and it makes me, to say the least, self-conscious.

I was born an identical twin in 1921, in a small upstate New York community, Belmont, in Allegany County. My parents, James M. and Edna V., were working-class people with a moderate amount of formal schooling, though neither attained high school graduation. Dad was employed in a variety of jobs by the Borden Milk Company. He spent most of his working time with them as a laboratory technician testing for butterfat content, assessing the bacteria count on incoming milk and running a variety of tests on the products exported from the plant. Mother had had employment before marriage as a seamstress.

My earliest memories are focused on being one of two. There is something unique about being a twin—and an identical one at that. There is no way to "escape from yourself"; also, one feels a tremendous urge for identity. Twins are constantly compared to one another, and in retrospect I recognize a constant urge to be identified as myself, not someone else. On the other hand, my twin and I shared a camaraderie and closeness that has existed to this day. Being a twin has made me prize individuality and has had a very significant influence on my behavior in my quest for identity.

An early influence on my life was the proximity of my paternal grandparents, who lived on a farm eight miles away. They welcomed our visits, and early in my developing years I spent long periods of time "up on the farm." I came to know the ways of animals, the growing of crops, and the hard work involved in that way of life. I consider it an important aspect of my informal education. It

insights into the issues at stake for the patients. It was also our responsibility to relate with the patients so as to be supportive of the treatment being offered. Deeply disturbed patients were returned to the States for treatment. The doctors helped the corpsmen understand that the majority of our patients were unable to handle the situational stress that they were experiencing. Their integrating and coping skills had not been sufficiently developed in early life.

I was one of four men from this base selected to return to the States to attend Officer Candidate School. After two semesters in science at Cornell University and one semester at the University of Notre Dame in midshipmen's school, I was commissioned. After another tour of sea duty I was assigned to the Rehabilitation Unit at Brooklyn Naval Hospital. Here there was opportunity to have intimate contact in counseling — although I didn't have the preparation I should have possessed.

Upon discharge I investigated how to proceed with my developed interest in counseling. In 1946-47 the best way seemed to be to go on with my degree in education, teach, and start graduate work. Upon graduation from Cortland State Teachers College (now State University of New York College at Cortland), I accepted a teaching position at Fillmore, New York, Central School and began summer school graduate work at Syracuse University. Upon qualifying for counselor certification, I accepted a position in the Herkimer, New York, public schools and worked there for four years until I decided on more education. Matriculation at Michigan State University for the doctorate was the next important step. It was here that Dr. Walter F. Johnson, my major professor, was to be a very significant force in my thinking as well as in goal attainment. Assistantships at MSU afforded me an opportunity to teach classes in counseling and guidance, to supervise practicum, and, in the Counseling Center and the Basic College Reading Improvement Service, the privilege of counseling with college students.

My experiences in the Navy, schools, and colleges afforded me the opportunity to counsel with children, preadolescents, adolescents, young adults, and mature adults. These experiences and study have been the foundation for trying to articulate a developmentalist view of counseling and guidance. Trying to help, as well as to understand, my own children Heidi and Todd as they grow and develop has given me many insights.

Four years on the faculty at the Ohio State University and ten years at the University of Wisconsin have afforded me the settings and assignments that have enabled critical inquiry, as well as the opportunity to present my views, weighed with those of others, in graduate programs of counselor education. It is my privilege currently, as president of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, to have new contacts and opportunities to share ideas and learn new material that may further my explication of developmental counseling.

In closing, let me say that I have tried to identify in this autobiography significant experiences, persons, and features of my time in history that have been and are influential in my life style. Many events and experiences which have been assimilated and integrated both independently and in counseling relationships are the base for what I know to be necessary for the processes of decision-making, coping and restructuring of life.

The View of a Developmentalist

There are a number of accepted approaches to guidance and counseling, i.e., client-centered, behavioristic, eclectic and others. Gail Farwell's article exemplifies the developmental view currently held by many persons in the field. He holds that current conditions and events in the school and the larger society make this position more appropriate today than ever before. Farwell sees life as a process and talks in terms of "self-competence" as a goal of counseling. In his view, guidance is basically a rehearsal for current and future action, rather than remediation or recovery. Farwell accepts counselor intervention if it is carried on in such a way that the counselee does not doubt the sincerity of the counselor. Such conditions as empathy, acceptance, sincere caring, and genuineness are prerequisites for effective counselor intervention. Unless the work of the counselor is unique, he really is not needed. He must continually strive to be relevant.

WHAT IS THE MEANING of guidance and counseling work at this time in history? Where have I come from and where do I currently stand in viewpoint and practice? These questions were put to me as preparation for writing what is to follow. The reader should realize that this paper is written in personal terms and is a reflection of concern for issues and problems as well as a viewpoint toward counseling and guidance work.

CURRENT VIEWPOINT

The viewpoint I hold toward our field at this time in history is commonly labeled "developmental." I am more strongly committed to this viewpoint now than when I first began thinking in these terms more than a decade ago. There are events currently with us that confirm the viability of this viewpoint. Foremost is a keen awareness that all of life is really development and that, if man is to be self-actualized, fully functioning, self-competent or all that he can be, the counselor must recognize this development and its changing character as man moves through his life cycle. There are many uncontrollables "out there" that man must integrate into his behavioral system and that result in choices, adaptations, and reorganization on his part. Man's best potential for control is to have control over himself in view of environmental contingencies, rather than the reverse, control over the environment because he is there.

As a basis of viewing man, the most meaningful system is one that stresses man and his life as a process. This involves recognizing the evolving nature of man. It accepts the concept of a "core of experience" but at the same time recognizes the continual change and encroachment of the new in the world which we encounter. The developmental view of guidance and

counseling accepts and stresses growth, change, and modification. I believe it gives credibility to viewing desirable outcomes as process outcomes. What is life all about? It is a process of moving from one stage to another along a path of considerable ambiguity because of the unknown nature of the future as well as the impossibility of controlling the behavior of others. Behavior is expressed in personal, social, technological, economic, philosophical, and political ways. One individual cannot hope to control others, with all of the variations, nuances, and permutations of behavior open to them. What we can accept is self-competency. By this I mean competency in the processes basic to utilizing the "old" and sifting and winnowing the "new" in life as it unfolds. The self-competent person knows when he is self-contained and when he is dependent upon others. He is able to understand and accept both his independence and his dependency. But he does not achieve this self-knowledge automatically nor by osmosis. It is my position that he learns it, and that one of the forces contributing to this learning is guidance and counseling. The counselor, to be relevant in the developing life cycle of the individual, will help him develop those capacities that are critical for contending with one's self in a highly complex culture.

Of course, the work of the counselor becomes very complex in a social system such as the American culture. The simpler system of a primitive culture offers quite different variables, but the basic constructs of developmental behavior do not vary. In my view, developmental guidance is basically a rehearsal for current and future action rather than remediation or a recovery of adequacy. In this rehearsal the individual is called upon to view himself and the press of current circumstance for the purpose of extricating meaning from this experience. This personal meaning must be placed in perspective with respect to what has gone before and what is taking place now. As the individual integrates the new with the old and comes to understand his present state, he is possessor of the foundation necessary for decision-making, coping and adapting, altering and reorganizing. To be able to carry on these processes he must also be an assimilator, a reporter, and a demonstrator. There are many persons on the developmental team who will contribute in varying degrees toward attaining the seven process outcomes—assimilating, reporting, demonstrating, integrating, choosing, adapting, reorganizing.

It is at the point of integration that I perceive the fundamental work of the counselor as being done. Until an individual integrates the new aspects of his life style with what has gone before, meaningful decision-making, coping and/or reorganizing of behavior are likely to be impossible. However, the need for these processes comes about because of the assimilation of new phenomena into the system. How do I know what has been assimilated? I know by what is either reported or demonstrated by the individual. At the point of integration a unique characteristic of human behavior—the capacity of the individual to ascribe his own meaning to the experience—is manifested. To me, this is what counseling is all about—to help the individual come to a real understanding of the deeply personal meaning he ascribes to his experience and of how this serves as a base for further assimilation, for choosing, for coping, and for restructuring.

THE INDIVIDUAL

The counselor operating from this viewpoint, with process goals as specified, holds certain beliefs about the nature of man and his development. These beliefs serve as the underpinning for the intervention he brings to bear.

The counselor assumes that the individual is a joint product of his heritage and the press of his environment. He has certain predetermined physical characteristics, over which neither he nor his parents had any control. His genetic endowment is one of the givens.

The other given is the environment. There are several subsets which the counselor must realize are critically important in the developing life style of the individual. A most significant component is the family; whether it be the actual family or a substitute family, it is the perceived family of the individual and is real for him. The family and its immediate environs are the prime nurturing agents. They are the first interveners. What do they provide? They provide the experiences that result in physical, psychological, and social nurturance. The family's behavioral system provides the base for learning many things—attitudes, beliefs, values, roles, skills, and facts. Attendant to the family intervention is the community intervention. A community has many dimensions, and it should be seen as a series of spiraling concentric circles. In immediate infancy, the community is the home and the immediate neighborhood, but before long it broadens and, as Wheelis points out in his book *The Quest for Identity* (1958), man's community is as broad as the universe itself.

This phenomenon is related to another given that must be seriously considered by the counselor: man lives in history. It is one thing to be born in 1921 and to have memories of the fabulous 20's, the Depression of the 30's, World War II, and the economic and technological boom of the postwar period as reference points for understanding the phenomena of the last third of the century. It is another thing to be born in 1960 and not be as influenced by those events in the development of a life style.

The counselor who attempts his work without due consideration of environmental and historical conditions is counseling in a vacuum. It has been my experience that this is never the case. I am always counseling with an individual-in-a-situation and, to be realistic and relevant, the counselor and the counseling must be in the mainstream of that situation. The situation is the life style of that individual.

THE INTERVENTION

By what process does counselor intervention occur? It is appropriate to state that this seems to be a major controversy—the role and functioning of the counselor. If I return for a moment to the process outcomes identified above for the developmental viewpoint, many of the counselor's activities can be easily pinpointed. If the primary outcome focus for the counselor is the integration process, and if it follows that, without integration, choosing,

coping, and altering are difficult if not impossible to achieve, it becomes incumbent upon the counselor to provide a relationship that begets him the opportunity to explore life's experiences with the individual. In this exploration the counselor intervenes in such a way that the subject has no doubt about the sincerity and commitment of the counselor to him and to his attempt to make sense out of all the forces that are at work on his behavioral system.

I am reminded of a junior high school girl who was queried about her reason for giving up summer vacation to come to a university laboratory engaged in the preparation of counselors. One of her expectations from counseling was vividly stated as follows, "I was hoping to find someone who would listen to me." The ability to listen to her on her terms is the quality known as *empathy*. It means more than listening to words *per se*; it involves understanding the nuances of feeling and expression. Implicit in Susan's statement is the notion of acceptance. Developmental counseling and guidance work focusing on the patterned growth and change of the individual are necessarily grounded in accepting the current condition of the individual. This *acceptance* is a necessary ingredient for understanding the life style of the individual. There are those who confuse acceptance with approval of specific actions. It is not necessary to condone all of the counsellee's behavior, but to intervene effectively the counselor must communicate his sense of the worthwhileness and dignity of the subject in his own right. Can I say I *sincerely care* for this individual as a human being? When I can answer this question in the affirmative, then I can sense that this is getting across to the person with whom I am working.

Intervention has another component which is dependent upon the interaction between the parties, and this is *genuineness*, or congruence. Implied here is continual awareness of interplay and dynamics, and the capability to respond honestly and genuinely to the other person. The response is triggered by the ongoing "now situation" between individuals. Within this framework there may be real confrontation and real exploration of feelings and meanings that are very personal. The influence of Rogerian thinking and research is clearly evident.

These conditions make it possible for the process of counseling to continue and to be productive. The process of counseling intervention is inextricably entwined in the relationship, and the relationship makes it possible for the process to continue.

The dynamics of communication are complex and varied. They are the cornerstone for the verbal intervention employed by the counselor. The major force at work in the interaction of counseling is the constant encoding and decoding done by both parties. Understanding the systems at work in the selectivity process of sifting and winnowing experiences and their meaning is the core of reaching meaningful integration.

The focus to this point has been on verbal intervention. This is the major form the counselor's intervention takes, from a developmental viewpoint. Some take the position that other forms of intervention should have a higher priority. The developmental viewpoint of guidance and counseling stresses

counseling as the counselor's prime function in his helping role with individuals. It is critical and necessary in achieving the process outcome of integration, the cornerstone for fulfilling the developmental drive of the individual. This does not diminish the importance of other forms of intervention, however.

The second priority for intervention by the counselor is the process of consultation. The counselor consults with those significant persons and institutions that have important impact on the developing life style of the individual subject. This allows the counselor and other guidance workers to understand developmental behavior, to recognize where the individual currently stands in the developmental schema, and to employ appropriate measures with the persons and institutions that will influence the development of knowledge, skills, feelings, attitudes, and values. The developmental stage of childhood, when the period of formative development and dependency is at its peak, will demand more consultative intervention than will later stages of adolescence and adulthood when the individual is asserting independence and making his own way toward identity and responsibility.

Consultation with parents, peers, teachers, administrators, and other professional educators will be necessary while the individual is in school. In other circumstances there may be consultation with doctors, employers, social agencies, and, in fact, any institution or person significantly impacting (or capable of impacting) on the individual's positive development toward the process goals of the developmental viewpoint. The counselor is taking creative and positive steps in seeking consultation about the growth patterns and life style of his subjects. He recognizes the critical importance of the in-situation of his subject, and tries to assist his subject to maximize the positive forces that will enable him to move forward in his search for identity and a positive constructive life.

Both of these interventions—verbal and consultative—are direct and obvious. The counselor also engages in "behind the scenes" interventions for the purpose of informational search and research. The counselor must acquire both information about the individual and his in-situation and information about the environment that will contribute to knowledge needed for decision-making, adaptation, and reorganizing. In his research function the counselor continually looks at his activities and his outcomes. This is necessary to answer the question, "So what if I intervene in this life?"

ISSUES

One of the big issues confronting the counselor operating from the developmental viewpoint is focused in the question, "How can I be relevant?" The counselor, to be relevant, has to have something to offer, and this offering must be seen positively by the clientele he serves. To be relevant he has to be in tune with the current status of his subject, knowledgeable about the pressures on his life, and aware and up-to-date, because his interventions are "now," not yesterday. Finally, to be relevant means to be constantly aware of oneself and the becoming nature of that self. The counselor is in the

process of growth; he is developing; and if he doesn't keep his "self" (his own instrument) in tune, he will have little effectiveness.

Another issue focuses on the scope of preparation and continuing education needed by the counselor to be knowledgeable and skillful with his interventions. The developmental counselor is a well-integrated individual, and continually seeks feedback so as to move forward in his own peculiarly personal ways. In addition he works continually at attaining knowledge and at the refinement of his skills — counseling, consultation, informational search, and research.

Another issue is the continual search for viable theoretical frameworks to undergird the work of counselors. A good theory is practical, and good practice is grounded in viable theory. Too many counselors have been content to carry about a knapsack of techniques without ever making a deeper quest into the whys, hows, and wheres of intervening in this way or that way. I am of the persuasion that the search for sound theory must continue, and that counselors themselves, counselees, counselor educators, and the institutions that sponsor counseling must work at this task through both critical thought and research.

Lastly, as the current (1968-69) president of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, I have strong convictions about the contributions of coordinate action in developing a viable profession. A major issue is the lackadaisical attitude taken by so many employed in the guidance and counseling field who do not affiliate with a professional structure or contribute their knowledge and effort toward making the profession an ever-growing dynamic organism. Each in the field, to paraphrase the late President John F. Kennedy, should be saying, "What can I do for the profession," not "What can it do for me?"

CLOSURE

This has been brief, and I have barely introduced my own thoughts on the developmental viewpoint and some of the factors of its implementation. For some time I have been concerned with the fact that so much of what has been done in the name of counseling and guidance has had its roots in problems and problem people, in contrast to intervening with individuals at formative and dynamically positive growth stages. It is in the framework of the latter point of view that I propose that the developmental approach to guidance and counseling warrants serious consideration.

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ELI GINZBERG

*Professor, Columbia University**Autobiography*

As Robert MacIver (1968) recently pointed out, all efforts at autobiographical writing have a large and inevitable dose of rationalization. We do not really understand how we came to be what we are or how we came to think as we do. But if we recognize the pitfalls of relating a tale only part of which we know or remember, and if we retain a healthy degree of humor and modesty as the tale unfolds, no damage will be done and the young may even pick up a useful clue or two about the vagaries of men and their ideas.

I was brought up in the home of a great Jewish scholar whose work and life demonstrated the greatest possible tension between inner commitment and the external environment. The fact that I had neither the aptitude nor the interest to follow in his footsteps sharpened the issue of my own occupational choice. I was daily confronted by the contrast between my bookish father and my activist mother. In my mother's view, the critical issue of human life was a single question: was one able to leave the world a little better than one found it (Ginzberg, 1966)?

Aptitude and interest pulled me in the direction of history, economics and, later, philosophy. The shift to economics from history at the end of high school was the result of a deliberate decision not to constrict my occupational choice solely to teaching. During my second year in college, I attended Heidelberg University in Germany, where I first began to read widely in psychoanalysis. For a brief time I considered medicine as a career, with psychiatry as a specialty, but quickly discarded it because it would allow me to help only a few patients.

But psychology left its mark and, when I began studying economics seriously, I was unable to accept the simple models of man with which economists worked. My close ties with my cousin, Dr. Sol W. Ginzburg (1963), a psychoanalyst deeply concerned with social issues, were a major factor in my search for a way of bringing economics and psychology into greater harmony. In this I was greatly

encouraged by my two teachers and — later — colleagues, Wesley C. Mitchell and John Maurice Clark.

In 1939, largely through Mitchell's help, Dr. Sol Ginzburg and I initiated our first empirical studies into borderline problems of economics and psychology under a grant from the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences. This was the precursor of the Conservation of Human Resources Project which General Eisenhower established at Columbia University in 1950, under which all of our interdisciplinary research has taken place. Responding to the overwhelming phenomenon of the Depression, we focused our principal research efforts on unemployment (Ginzberg, 1942; Ginzberg *et al.*, 1943). Even before these projects were completed we had initiated a study of "The Occupational Adjustment of 1,000 Selectees" (Ginzberg, 1943a), with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation, in which we sought to assess the impact of an early and radical change in the environment of work on occupational development.

The war led to a suspension of our research, but when peace returned we picked up the major theme of our earlier work, which was subsumed under the broad rubric of "Occupational Choice and Adjustment to Work."

Financial support was difficult to arrange and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, who had contributed to the methodology of studying occupational choice while still in Vienna, prodded us in the direction of a large-scale empirical study. A feasibility study demonstrated that such an effort would be both premature and expensive. We finally convinced the Columbia Council for Research in the Social Sciences to make a modest grant (less than \$5,000) to permit us to formulate what we had learned and were learning about occupational choice. Robert M. Maciver, to whom *Occupational Choice* is dedicated, was a major source of strength. He encouraged us to withstand various pressures to work in ways not congenial to us. He insisted that a limited number of cases, probed in depth, would be more useful than a large-scale statistical effort.

Our original team consisted of Sol Ginzburg, Sidney Axelrad, and myself. While the three of us had come a fair distance in delineating the complex social and psychological factors operative in the decision-making process, we had not succeeded in developing an effective research design when Axelrad brought John L. Herma,¹ a Viennese psychologist trained by the Böhlers and Piaget, into our group. In brief order Herma helped us to structure the approach which underlies our book *Occupational Choice*.

Early in our study we had asked my colleague Donald Super (Ginzberg *et al.*, 1951, pp. 16-17), to undertake a critical review of the guidance literature. His written and oral reports convinced us of the need for a radical breakthrough in approach, since it would be impossible to build a systematic theory on the hodgepodge of existing empirical studies, which were for the most part uncontaminated by theory and unrelated to each other.

As we went along, we realized that we would have to battle on three fronts. The first engagement was with the guidance movement, which appeared to be flying blind, that is, it was intervening in the choice process without a commitment to any explicit theory of occupational choice. Several months prior to the publication of our book, I made this charge from the platform of the NVGA. The

¹ See "John L. Herma: In Memoriam," *The Psychoanalytic Review*, 1966-1967, 53, 173ff.

reaction was mixed: many disagreed and fought back, but most of the audience looked forward to reading what we had to say. However, Kitson's (1952) review in *Occupations* some months later underscored the unfriendliness of the Old Guard. But the fact that the editor offered me an opportunity to summarize our theory indicates that we also encountered considerable openness to our ideas (Ginzberg, 1952).

On the second flank, we had to do battle with the psychologists and psychiatrists. Some months before our book appeared, the four of us made a lengthy presentation at the annual meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association which later printed it in their journal (Ginzberg et al., 1950). Our insistence that psychoanalytic concepts were of little or no help in structuring a general theory of occupational choice, and that primary emphasis had to be placed on the ego and superego, not on the id, was rejected out-of-hand. And, as indicated in a new foreword to a reprinting of our book, our work has been largely ignored by psychologists and psychiatrists (Ginzberg et al., 1963).

The reception from most sociologists was equally unfriendly. They quite correctly noted that we had ignored or given short shrift to the socioeconomic determinants of occupational decision-making. But they did not understand that we were engaged in an effort different from the studies that had long preoccupied sociologists. We were not interested in determining statistical relations between the occupational structure of one generation and the next, but in developing a theory of the dynamics of choice for the sector of the population that has a reasonable degree of freedom.

A word about the fashioning and directing of an interdisciplinary team: it is difficult to entice specialists to work on a project in which they must put aside the criteria of performance that prevail in their own disciplines. It is difficult for one man to be chief among equals; yet unless the director knows where he wants to go and can convince his collaborators to go with him, the effort will fall apart. Finally, the question of equitable distribution of credit is insoluble. The world is not interested in such subtleties. The book on which the four of us collaborated is usually cited as Ginzberg et al., and the theory is referred to as "Ginzberg's theory."

It was difficult to put together an interdisciplinary team; it was more difficult to maintain its productivity and morale. The fact that Dr. Sol Ginzburg was the senior member of the staff from 1939 until his death in 1960, and that Dr. John L. Herma worked with us from 1947 until his death in 1966, holds the clue to whatever success the Conservation of Human Resources Project has been able to achieve.

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The Development of a Developmental Theory of Occupational Choice

Students familiar with Eli Ginzberg's work will find in the present paper several changes from his 1952 position. His current position gives more emphasis to the social and economic influences that shape vocational choice. Perhaps the most significant change is in the concept of irreversibility. Ginzberg now feels that people do change directions and that a person is not locked in an occupation. He currently places more emphasis upon differences between the sexes as they relate to career choice and career development. Some of these differences exist because women may not actually confront the world of work until after their childbearing years.

In Ginzberg's view, the present dynamic American society now offers a wider range of choices and opportunities which affect the individual's career development than ever before.

SEVENTEEN YEARS HAVE PASSED since my colleagues and I published our developmental theory of occupational choice, *Occupational Choice: An Approach to a General Theory*. Unfortunately my collaborators from the fields of psychiatry and psychology, Dr. Sol W. Ginzburg and Dr. John L. Herma, died in the interim, the former in 1960 and the latter in 1966. Dr. Sidney Axelrad, a sociologist, and I, trained in economics, were the other members of the team.

THE THEORY RECAPITULATED

The essence of our theory can be briefly recapitulated. It views occupational choice as a process of decision-making that begins in early puberty, at about the age of 11, and continues until the individual has completed his studies, usually during his early twenties.

As an individual matures during this critical decade, he becomes intellectually and emotionally aware of and responsive to his own interests, capacities, and values and to the environmental realities—the opportunities and barriers—that he encounters or expects to encounter in pursuing his tentative choice.

The fact that the educational system is so structured that a decision to follow a particular pattern of preparation implies that one cannot simultaneously

or even sequentially pursue alternatives led us to state that occupational decisions have the quality of irreversibility.

Schematically we divided the process of occupational decision-making into three periods: *fantasy* choices, those made prior to the age of 11 when the child is not yet able to go beyond a simple identification with the work of an admired adult; *tentative* choices, those made during the years between 11 and 18 or so when he opens up and closes out various alternatives; the period of *crystallization and specialization*, the end of the process, which occurs after 18 when the individual finally commits himself to a particular field and, later, to an area of specialization within it.

The third cornerstone of the theory is that crystallization takes place as a result of compromise between the individual's strengths and desires and the realities of the marketplace.

In brief, ours is a theory of occupational choice constructed out of three basic elements: a process of cumulative decision-making, characterized by irreversibility, and ending in compromise.

A REFORMULATION

Seventeen years after we formulated our theory, and after many intervening research projects on career development and related studies, we are again concerned with the process of occupational choice. Our interdisciplinary team at Columbia University, the Conservation of Human Resources Project, is currently engaged in a large-scale evaluative study of "Guidance: U.S.A." We are still developing the findings of this study; however, the conclusions of intervening research bearing on our theory of occupational choice can be briefly delineated here so that the reader can understand our present position with respect to our original formulation.

The broadening and deepening of our understanding of the complex phenomenon of occupational decision-making can be subsumed under the following ten headings:

1. It is not true, as we thought in 1951, that a sharp distinction can be made between occupational choice and career development. The two are much more interdependent than we originally postulated. We find, for instance, that most men do not "choose" to become executives; rather, they become executives as a result of challenges to which they respond in a distinctive fashion (Ginzberg, 1955).
2. Opportunities and barriers in the world of work can and often do play a major role in "reopening" a previously crystallized choice. In our original formulation we recognized reopenings of choices but concluded that they reflected premature or unsatisfactory crystallizations—that they bespoke difficulties that the individual had experienced in reaching a compromise. However, the hundreds of thousands of young men who reopened their occupational choices as a result of their experiences in World War II, and particularly in response to the GI benefits which enabled them to return to school or pursue training, were responding to new opportunities, not revealing earlier

incorrect or inadequate decision-making (Ginzberg and Bray, 1953; Ginzberg *et al.*, 1959, Chapter 9).

3. While one chapter in our book was devoted to the process of occupational decision-making under conditions of limited opportunity, the fact is that we gave short shrift to the ways in which the environment limits the choices of a high proportion of our young people. Our theory was a "general theory" only as it applied to people with a wide range of options. It definitely had to be broadened before we could say that it was general with respect to the whole of contemporary society. Our later work places much more stress on the way in which the "opportunity structure" influences the choice process (Ginzberg *et al.*, 1962, Chapters 9 and 10).

4. The existence of opportunities is a necessary but not a sufficient precondition for the successful resolution of an individual's occupational choice. Whether the presence of opportunities is recognized, particularly by groups, such as Negroes and women, who had previously encountered barriers, and the further question of whether these groups are able and willing to respond to new opportunities, play a crucial role in the decision-making process (Ginzberg, 1956, Chapter 5; Ginzberg *et al.*, 1967, Chapter 5; Ginzberg *et al.*, 1966, Chapter 5).

5. In our original study we devoted one chapter to women, in the hope of teasing out some of the special facets of decision-making that young women face in planning for work. Our later studies pointed up many differences between the sexes with regard to their preparation for and adjustment to work. In particular we learned that many women do not actually confront the world of work until their middle or late thirties, and we also became more aware of the extent to which married women make their decisions about jobs and careers within an enlarged framework in which their responsibilities for home and children loom large (Ginzberg *et al.*, 1966, Chapter 6).

6. Our research forced us to reconsider the concept of "irreversibility," which had been one of the foundation stones of our theory. Our research on the career development of talented men revealed that while only a small minority make radical changes after they have crystallized their occupational choices, the world of work is so constituted that many can and do move quite far from their original choices by responding to opportunities as they present themselves. The corporation president who started as a lawyer has made a new occupational choice, although his present position is often linked with his original choice (Ginzberg and Herma *et al.*, 1964, Chapter 5).

7. Although we had made provision in our theory for the role of values in the process whereby people resolve their occupational choices, it was only later that we had a clear understanding of the critically important role that values play in the ways in which men and women relate themselves to the world of work. Some persons seek autonomy; others want to exercise control over people; many seek to satisfy other needs and desires through their work. A more comprehensive theory of occupational choice determination would have to probe more deeply into people's "value orientations to work," although their influence is usually revealed only after one has had the oppor-

tunity to work and to learn from his experiences what he most wants from a job (Ginzberg and Herma *et al.*, 1964, Chapter 7; Ginzberg *et al.*, 1966, Chapters 9 and 10).

8. The multiple institutions that channel and condition a young person and that influence how he approaches and resolves his occupational choice were slighted in our original formulation, in which emphasis was restricted largely to family and school. Our more recent research has called attention to such critically shaping influences as peers, the guidance system, the armed forces, the ideology of minority groups, and the job market (Ginzberg *et al.*, 1962, Chapter 7 and 8).

9. Major changes have been occurring in the structure of industry and occupations, changes which have affected the types of work that people do and the rewards they are able to achieve through working. We had little interest in these matters in our original study, which took the world of work as given and concentrated on how young people made decisions among the existing alternatives that fell within their orbit of choice. A comprehensive and dynamic theory of occupational choice determination would have to pay more attention to economic and occupational changes and transformations which set new and different limits on the choices available to different groups (Ginzberg *et al.*, 1965, Chapters 6-9; Ginzberg, 1968, Chapters 2 and 3).

10. In our original formulation we paid scant attention to the ways in which the process of occupational decision-making was related to the individual's life plan and life style. This reflected our preoccupation with middle-class youngsters, who, we postulated, would be strongly career- and work-oriented. But we found in our later studies that as more and more Americans face broader options, they are less willing to focus exclusively on the pursuit of a career and are concerned with developing an optimal balance between their work and the rest of their lives. An improved theory must broaden its framework to allow for these previously unexamined dimensions (Ginzberg and Herma *et al.*, 1964, Chapter 10; Ginzberg *et al.*, 1966, Chapter 10).

In light of what we have studied and learned in the years since we first formulated our theory, are we willing to stand on it?

The answer is yes and no. In broad outline, the theory still has authenticity: occupational choice is a process; the process has a quality of irreversibility, and it is resolved through compromise. But now that we have had the advantage of almost two decades of further research in and around the arena of work, there are important respects in which the original theory must be modified. The most important modifications are these:

The process of occupational choice determination is much more elongated than we originally postulated. Men and women encounter a great many options and some barriers after they begin to work, and the ways in which they respond to them, individually and cumulatively, can greatly modify their original choices. In fact, the ties between what they started out to do and what they are doing ten and twenty years later may be tenuous indeed. The process of occupational choice determination, then, is subject to alteration and change as long as the individual remains active in the world of work.

With regard to the element of irreversibility, we would likewise modify our original formulation. While few persons who study medicine will end up in law or engineering, many others will be found far from where they started. The student of theology who becomes a college president, the Army officer who becomes a businessman, and the philosophy major who becomes a computer expert have made one or more moves in response to the wide options that exist in our dynamic economy, especially for people of ability, to modify their initial choices with respect to work and career. The implication of the term "irreversible" — that people are more or less locked into their choice once they have proceeded a considerable distance along the educational route — is valid in the sense that most people do not have the opportunity to follow an alternative. But it is misleading if irreversibility is taken to mean that people are locked into specific jobs and careers.

There is no need to modify radically the third element in the theory, that every choice is compromise. But it is necessary in light of our later research to make, and to stress, the point that we are not dealing here with a one-time compromise at the point of crystallization. In light of our new perception that the process of occupational choice continues for a long time, we recognize that repeated compromises will be made as individuals confront various options with respect to work. And the range of factors that people weigh prior to compromising will over time include not only those directly related to job and career but also the many variables that involve non-work facets of life such as family, communal activities, and leisure.

IN REVIEW

I regret that I cannot report on the considerable number of studies, most of them empirically oriented, that sought to test various aspects of our theory. Some investigators sought our help at the beginning of their studies; others sent us finished reports. We stumbled on a considerable number of other studies with which we had no connection, and believe that there are additional studies unfamiliar to us. It would surely be of interest to us, and might be useful for the field, if a student were to assemble these studies and to undertake a critical review of what they disclose about the strengths and weaknesses of our original theory. After all, a primary purpose of theory is to provide a better means of understanding and evaluating the complications of the real world. A review might provide the evidence required to determine how the theory has stood up in terms of this basic criterion.

For readers interested in our evolving formulations about guidance since the publication of *Occupational Choice*, brief reference is made to the following articles:

In the late 1950's, I presented to NVGA a paper entitled "Guidance: Limited and Unlimited" (Ginzberg, 1960), which was published in the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*. At that time, guidance counselors were making the error of trying to cope with all of the problems of adolescents — personal, interpersonal, and vocational. I made a strong plea in favor of constraint and

specialization, advocating that guidance personnel minimize their involvement with problems of personal and social adjustment and concentrate on the educational and vocational problems of young people.

In the early 1960's I made three presentations during successive summers in a seminar on guidance organized under the auspices of the Harvard Graduate School of Education. These presentations were intended to help teachers and school administrators understand more fully the changes in the socioeconomic environment that had impact for guidance. They called attention to groups of disadvantaged students who had special need for help in finding their way through the educational and vocational labyrinth (Ginzberg, 1965; Ginzberg, 1965; Ginzberg, 1966).

In 1967, in collaboration with my colleague Professor Dale L. Hiestand, I published a chapter on "The Guidance of Negro Youth" in *Employment, Race and Poverty* by Ross and Hill. This chapter analyzed the range and severity of problems that Negro youth encounter in preparing for work and life in light of the environmental conditions to which they are exposed at home, in school, and in the community.

It should be evident from these references that in recent years we have been increasingly concerned with delineating the ways in which socioeconomic forces in our society limit the opportunities of certain groups to exercise choice with respect to work.

Seventeen years after our theory was first published, we are focusing on those facets of the problem which were underplayed or ignored in our original formulation: the ways in which the socioeconomic environment operates to set limits on the process of decision-making; the special problems that various groups — low-income, Negro, and female — encounter in resolving their occupational choices, and the roles of mediatory institutions, particularly the school.

From the start of our interdisciplinary research in human resources in 1939, the Conservation Project and its predecessor groups have been careful to work within a framework broad enough to encompass both socioeconomic and psychological determinants of individual and group behavior. However, our emphasis has shifted from time to time, depending on the nature of the problem and the composition of the senior staff. In formulating our original theory of occupational choice in the early post-World War II years, our focus was on delineating a model that assumed a reasonable degree of freedom of decision-making. Our study group was composed of young men who were college-bound or in college. Because of this design, our analysis was heavily weighted in the direction of a developmental model in which the major exploratory variables were interest, capacities, and values, and the manner in which the individual integrated them into his explorations of reality.

Our research orientation in the latter 1950's and particularly in the 1960's has been increasingly in the direction of greater concern with the socioeconomic environment and the way in which it facilitates or retards development and *pari passu* contributes to constructive resolution of an occupational choice.

The task the Conservation staff still confronts and hopes to respond to in its evaluative study of "Guidance: USA" is the effective integration of these two approaches.

Selected Writings of Eli Ginzberg

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GEORGE E. HILL

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Autobiography

I started teaching at the age of 19, in a country school in Michigan. After one year of college, I taught in a village high school before returning to college. Upon receiving the A.B. from Albion College (and a life certificate to teach at any grade level in any subject), I went to Northwestern University to begin graduate work. Before getting the Ph.D. from Northwestern I held various positions, including assistant to the director of reference and research, New Trier Township High School, Winnetka, Illinois; research assistant to the director of education of the Illinois State Reformatory, Pontiac; examiner in Paul Witty's Psycho-educational Clinic, teaching fellow and instructor, and assistant director of research of the School of Education, all at Northwestern University.

In the depths of the Depression of the 1930's I became head and professor of education, director of student teaching and director of teacher placement at Morningside College in Sioux City, Iowa. This was followed by five years as an assistant professor of education and examiner in the reading clinic at the University of Pennsylvania. I then returned to Morningside College as dean of the college and from there became director of student personnel services at Macalester College in Saint Paul, Minnesota. After a short tenure as director of graduate studies at the Kansas State Teachers College in Emporia, I became professor of education and chairman of counselor education at Ohio University in Athens. In 1963 the faculty of Ohio named me a distinguished professor and I relinquished the chairmanship of counselor education in 1964.

I have taught in several other institutions: four summers at the University of Minnesota, two at Drury College, one at the University of Chicago, and two at the Bay View Summer College of Liberal Arts. I taught part-time for one semester at the University of Hawaii.

In addition to these teaching experiences I have participated in several school surveys, especially in the assessment of guidance programs, and have served as professional consultant to numerous state and local school systems.

As chairman of the State Committee on Guidance in the Elementary School, sponsored by the Ohio Association for Counselor Education and Supervision, I had the privilege of working with Russell Getson, Robert Hopkins, Anthony Riccio and a good many persons in Ohio schools on the development of several editions of a position paper in this area. This paper included some detailed suggestions regarding the preparation of elementary school counselors. These experiences were accompanied by involvement in several of the All-Ohio Elementary School Guidance Conferences sponsored by the State Department of Education's Division of Guidance and Testing and the Ohio School Counselor Association.

A half-year spent living in Honolulu, Hawaii, in 1964 provided an opportunity to come to know and observe closely a strong team of elementary school counselors in this fascinating city and its environs. During the year 1966-1967 I spent most of my time — first on a grant from the Ohio University John C. Baker Fund and later on a sabbatical leave — visiting elementary school guidance programs in twenty-seven states, from Honolulu to Lexington, Massachusetts, and from Detroit to Miami. These visits were an eye-opener in terms of what I learned about the problems and the successes and failures of the elementary school guidance movement. These and later observations have increasingly convinced me that professional guidance practitioners are badly needed in American elementary schools and that it is in these schools that there resides the greatest hope for guidance to make a difference. While I make no claim to being a general specialist in elementary education, I have become a confirmed believer in the significance of pupil personnel services in the elementary school, with the counselor serving as the counselor-collaborator-coordinator of the program.

My experience from 1964 to 1968 as Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Standards for Secondary School Counselors taught me a good deal about the difficulties of achieving anything like consensus among guidance supervisors and counselor educators. Perhaps of greater importance, it taught me something about the devotion and the high quality of professional leadership that exists in American schools and colleges and reinforced my conviction that a major key to effective guidance service in elementary and secondary schools is the upgrading of counselor education programs.

Membership for three years (1966-1969) on the editorial board of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal* has been a fascinating and a sobering experience. It has taught me what a demanding and thankless job the editorship of a major journal is. In this respect my appreciation and respect for Buford Steffire rank very high. It has also taught me how greatly practitioners in the field of guidance, counselors, supervisors and others need to devote more time and energy to writing. Our journals badly need more reports of successful practice, more accounts of field research, and more interpretation — what theoreticians so freely expound but practitioners so seldom evaluate in print.

Editors' Note: Dr. Hill is a Phi Beta Kappa and an honorary life member of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. He has also been selected for Phi Delta Kappa, Kappa Delta Pi, Psi Chi and Delta Sigma Phi, in addition to a number of other professional organizations. He is also a life member "for meritorious service" of the Ohio School Counselor Association.

Guidance in Elementary Schools — A Pragmatic View

In the one paper in this book which focuses upon guidance in the elementary school, George Hill emphasizes that guidance is not a separate service but is a vital aspect of the total educational process. Thus the objectives of guidance must be related to the objectives of education.

Hill notes that while the development of such skills as reading and mathematics is important, the most crucial aspects of education are learning 1) about the self, 2) about human relations, and 3) about how to keep on learning.

Hill is quite specific in his discussion of the real meaning of guidance. Guidance is an idea, a concern, and a function designed to serve all students from kindergarten to graduate school. At the elementary level an effective guidance program must have a developmental emphasis, and must be integrative and relevant. The counselor should be practical in his approach, rather than trying to mold the child to a particular counseling philosophy; the best interest of the individual youngster should be served. The counselor is the individual who attempts to personalize and humanize the child's experiences. He is an indispensable person in the school, and needs to demonstrate his worth and not just talk about it.

It is the purpose of this paper to develop a statement regarding guidance in elementary schools which measures our practice against our achievement of practical results. What is "practical" is that which best serves the best interests of children and the society which our schools serve.

As background to what the writer has to say about guidance, he must first state briefly what he thinks schools are for and what he thinks should be the characteristics of a good school program. His attention is focused primarily upon the elementary and secondary schools. However, what he has to say is just as applicable to colleges and universities, with proper adaptations and emphases appropriate to the developmental levels of their students.

THE OBJECTIVES OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Characteristically the purposes of free education in this country get badly twisted, especially when the layman is considering why his children are in school. What are commonly called the "fundamentals" of education are actually concomitant or contributory learnings. The really important things which children need to learn are not reading, mathematics, science, social studies, art, music, and the like. Important as these learnings are, they serve a worthy purpose in one's life only as they enrich and make more functional the true fundamentals of education. These are such matters as the following:

1. Children need to mature in their understanding of themselves, and to

grow up in the habit of self-examination and self-understanding which makes rational the life of feeling, the life of the spirit, which is the real heart of humane human existence.

2. Children need to mature in their sense of responsibility for themselves, to develop a sense of self-regard which links pride and a feeling of concern for others with the management and use of their own personal resources for socially constructive ends.

3. Children need to mature in their understanding of human relations, of how human beings can best live together in our complicated society. The end sought in this development of understanding is to be found in a fourth learning.

4. Children need to mature in their skill in human relations, in learning the art of harmonious and happy relations with the many others in their lives.

5. Children need to learn — and this learning starts much earlier than most schools recognize — the significance of education in the life of modern man, the relation between education and employment, and the respect for gainful employment which will enable them to move gradually toward becoming productive workers in the American economy.

6. Children need to mature in their ability to make decisions, to solve problems, to meet the multiple exigencies of life with reasonable skill in the use of their intellectual and emotional resources.

7. Children need to mature in their ability to meet changing conditions and to adapt to the necessity for change in both their personal and their vocational lives. "Learning how to keep on learning" is one of the most important of the learnings fostered by our schools.

8. Finally, children need to mature in their sense of values, in the ideals that pull their behavior toward goals of improved human relations, and in the conscience which guides their daily decisions.

These eight learnings apply with equal relevance to education in the kindergarten and in the graduate school. Life is going to be productive and satisfying only if the learner begins early in life to achieve these learnings and keeps on maturing with respect to them into adulthood. Of course, it is recognized that explicit attention to such educational ends as are suggested by these learnings will differ in the primary grades and in the secondary school and college. The intellectual content of instruction in these learnings will become broader and deeper as the processes of growing up move along.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF EFFECTIVE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

Guidance in schools must take place within the framework of a well-conceived set of principles which guide the instruction and pupil personnel program of the school. There are three principles which seem to me to be especially important (Hill and Luckey, 1969, Chapter I):

1. The educational program must be developmental. Teaching, to be successful, must start where children are, and must then help them to move along toward the achievement seen as essential for their fullest development.

3. The educational program must be relevant. This is the principle that causes the most debate, because it deals with the relation of formal education and life itself. Making education relevant entails both making schooling meaningfully contributory to the living of real life and making educational experiences in the schools sensible to the child because he can see their relationship to life as he is currently living it. The teacher seeks to mediate for the child between what she is expected by society to teach and what are the current and anticipated realities of living outside the school.

THE MEANING OF GUIDANCE

The term "guidance" seems to me to be eminently worth preserving and useful in embodying the following concepts:

Guidance is an *idea*. It is the idea that every child is unique, different, individualistic. The idea is so pervasive in educational practice that it should not be identified solely with the guidance function. However, the fact of individuality is the central fact of guidance.

Guidance is a *concern*. It is the belief that every child is significant, of worth, a person of dignity and potential whom all educators see as worthy of their best efforts. This concern—like the idea of individuality—is also central to the guidance function. Similarly, it is the concern of all members of the schools' staffs. Thus, guidance as an idea and as a concern is everybody's business. No member of the school community is outside the realm of guidance insofar as these first two meanings of guidance are concerned.

Guidance is a *function*, a body of services, something that is to be done. In this third sense, guidance represents certain activities performed by members of the school staff which have a special significance in the school's effort to bring its total impact to bear upon the individual child in such a way as to enhance the possibility of his fullest development.

It is in the third sense that guidance is a professional practice, assigned to persons especially prepared to perform certain functions with skill and with proper integration of their efforts with those of all the others involved in the education of the child. It is in this third sense that we have problems with differentiation of functions, with marking off areas of special responsibility.

grow with this third meaning of guidance that the remainder of this paper is chiefly concerned.

The guidance function, in the sense of professional identification of school counselors to perform identified services, entails the following:

1. Assistance to children, through several procedures, in the processes of achieving a maturing sense of self-understanding and self-responsibility. This assistance is both deliberately interventive and upon request by the child. The counselor in the school cannot escape a commitment to stated educational goals which represent directions in which, and attainments toward which, society expects the schools to help children move. The counselor thus constantly walks a tightrope between management of children's lives and assistance to them in learning how to manage their own lives. Our society, like all societies, places its members in the position of having to balance individual impulses and individual desires with social demands. In our American culture we are committed to the greatest possible emphasis upon self-determination. In a real sense, in many schools, the counselor is the counsel for the defense of individual freedom and personal self-determination. Persons who shrink from such a role should not try to become school counselors.

2. Assistance to children and youth in learning how to make decisions, solve problems, and choose among alternative courses of action. Many children have the good fortune to be brought up in homes in which this significant phase of maturing is encouraged by their parents. Many other children have had little experience in this process when they come to school, or have had their self-determining choices limited to certain phases of experience. This type of assistance is not the responsibility only of counselors. But to a very real extent it is the counselors in schools who will make possible the extent and variety of self-choice decisions that a child needs if he is to grow up a free person in a relatively free society.

3. Assistance to the other adults in the child's life to enrich their understanding of the child, improve their methods of dealing with the child, and integrate their various ways of dealing with the child. Needless to say, this aspect of the counselor's functions requires ingenuity, a variety of understandings and skills, and almost infinite patience.

Traditionally, we have tended to describe these three kinds of assistance in terms of techniques or procedures employed by the counselor. This is useful; but it bears with it dangerous tendencies to separate these procedures from each other, to induce arguments about which is the most important, and to form schools of thought regarding counselor functions which are oriented to counselor procedures rather than to the needs of the children to be served. To me it is far more useful to ask ourselves, in a given school, this basic question: *With the staff at hand, with the children at hand, with the community within which the school functions, with the best available information regarding the future these children face, what can we do to bring the total impact of the school's efforts to bear upon this child so as to best enhance his growth in self-understanding, in self-responsibility, in decision-making and problem-solving attitudes and skills?* The attempt to answer this question makes it possible to identify the counseling function, the informational functions, the environ-

mental modification functions, the collaborative functions, and the coordinating functions of the counselor and to come to a working agreement as to how these same functions may — or may not — be performed by other members of the school staff.

The reader will note that it seems impossible to me dogmatically to insist that the counselor, and only the counselor, can and should perform certain functions. If a counselor finds that there is a teacher on his school's staff who does an effective job of interviewing — or perhaps even of counseling — certain children, my advice is to say "Thank God!" and to work with this teacher to the best possible effect where the children are concerned.

GUIDANCE SERVICES AS PERSONALIZING AND HUMANIZING THE CHILD'S EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

The individualizing of educational experiences can be achieved without giving the child a sense of personal meaning and significance. For example, the third-grade teacher may effectively divide her students into reading groups so that Sam becomes more and more able to cope with the reading demands of his group and thus both achieves more and feels better about this achievement. This adaptation to known individual differences is exceedingly important. Along with this, however, Sam may be needing attention that transcends skillful teaching, that extends to him opportunities for personal involvement in the solution of problems in his life that classroom procedures, no matter how well adapted, cannot quite achieve. Here is where the counselor enters in as a personalizer and a humanizer of experience, giving Sam a sense of personal attention and individual worth through counseling and other activities.

The kinds of activities the counselor carries out involve both direct work with Sam and collaborative work with Sam's teachers and his parents. He may go beyond the school to seek means in community, church, or playgrounds to help the adults with whom Sam relates to pool their efforts and to achieve consistency of approach to Sam, so that this lad begins to achieve the integration, the "making hang together," that he needs.

GUIDANCE AS ASSISTANCE TOWARD MATURING

The whole educational enterprise, if it is to be effective, accepts the child as he is, where he is, and seeks to move him along. But toward what does the educational system seek to move this growing organism? Generally we are inclined to say "toward adulthood," or toward a more "grown-up" condition. Someone once defined adolescence as a disease. Far too often our schools seem to want to help children to "get well," to no longer be children. In such a view of educational purpose there is an element of inescapable truth; because life does expect all of us to mature, to act as we increase in age more and more as we wish other adults would act.

The wise educator knows that moving from infancy to early childhood, to middle childhood, through adolescence and into adulthood is a slow process of development. It is usually a process fraught with difficulties. He also knows

that it is a process, not a series of sudden jumps. It begins with birth and never ends. At 45 a man may be amazed at how much he still needs to learn, in how many ways he needs to change his behavior and improve his attitudes.

Guidance in schools — as an idea, as a concern, and as a process — seeks to assist the child in individualized and personalized ways to traverse the path of maturing with as much success as possible. Mathewson has discussed the significance for guidance of the concept of maturing in a way that makes this a central concept, a thread that runs through all that is done in the name of guidance (Mathewson, 1963). It is basic to what is so often called developmental guidance, or what this writer has called "cumulative" guidance (Hill, 1965). The developmental process is one in which the past piles into the present and the present has its effect upon the future. For example, a child is born into a home that holds education in rather low esteem. From his earliest days he hears things said and sees things done that cause him to develop attitudes toward schooling which he carries with him as he spends his early years in the primary grades. These attitudinal blocks to effective achievement on his part accumulate in their impact upon his achievement.

The efforts of counselors in elementary schools are therefore directed toward bringing the resources of the school, the home, and the community so to bear upon the individual child that he will grow up with the best possible chances for becoming a happy, productive child. This day-by-day process, however, is geared to the days ahead. Uncertain as they may be in their details, of one thing we can be reasonably sure — the child who today can act his age, be himself, achieve a sense of growing up, relate effectively with his peers and with the adults in his life, is a child who is maturing toward adulthood hopefully. All that the counselors in the schools seek to do in their collaboration with their other adult colleagues is aimed at this basic goal.

ELEMENTS IN AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL GUIDANCE PROGRAM

Let us briefly describe the necessary elements in a complete program of guidance in an elementary school. Before it can really become a functioning program, the roles and functions of various school workers will have to be defined, and the timing and procedures used will have to be worked out. Thus we will concentrate here only on a statement of program elements reflecting known needs:

1. *The enhancement and enrichment of the school's program of child study.* Long regarded by elementary school educators as essential, today's child study program in most schools is not adequate to meet today's needs. This is true not only of the program's procedures, but also of its impact upon the children and its seeming intent.

In most elementary schools the staff does not know enough about the children with whom they work. Nor do the children have enough experience in coming to understand themselves. The child, insofar as he is studied, is usually merely an object of study. The program of child study in many schools seems to be intended to enhance the teachers' and other staff members' understanding of the pupil. The pupil's need to grow more and more aware of him-

self in a realistic and meaningful way is often lost sight of in the schools. The child should be seen as a *partner* in a process of self-study, not an object to be studied. This calls for a shift of emphasis, not a complete reversal in the child study program. The need for the staff to understand children better is apparent. But the need for children to understand themselves, to grow in this understanding, and to be helped to accept responsibility for what they are thus learning—this need is, from a guidance point of view, of primary significance. The importance of this first element in the elementary school guidance program is universally recognized.

2. *The earlier and more effective identification of children having special potentialities and of children having special needs which have arisen from deprivations, from disadvantageous circumstances in their lives, or other sources.* If there is anything that has been learned by the many investigations of the culturally deprived, the intellectually disadvantaged, the gifted, and the many other sorts of children who need special services and especially adapted educational experiences, it is that the earlier they can be helped the better their chances of success.

The recent rise in concern for the impact of poverty upon our people, and the new federal legislation aimed at alleviating the effects of poverty, have resulted in a great upsurge of attention to children disadvantaged in many ways. This must be strongly emphasized, both in theory and in practice, in the field of elementary school guidance.

3. *The enrichment of the child's opportunities for self-study, decision-making, and problem-solving through highly personalized attention and through group work.* Attention can be given to the child, as an individual, under many circumstances. This may entail only fleeting personal identification of the child and a quick, passing recognition of him as a unique individual. Much of this goes on in the classroom. At times, however, all children need a much more personalized, and a more extended, period in which a perceptive and accepting adult sees him and him alone. This is usually called "counseling." The purpose of this personalized attention is to assist the child to view himself with greater clarity, to assess his feelings and his behaviors, to come to some conclusion regarding courses of action which might help him and his plans, and to adjust to life's demands.

This third element in the guidance program of elementary schools, like the first two, is generally recognized by theoreticians and practitioners alike as being important. However, there is not the broad consensus regarding this third feature of guidance for younger children that obtains regarding the first two.

The same kind of personalized attention can, and should, be given children in small groups under the leadership of a person highly skilled in group process. This is group, or multiple, counseling. It has the advantage of both providing leadership in individual thinking and encouraging this process in the presence of a few peers who have similar concerns. The impact of this small group counseling upon the thinking, the decisions, and the attitudes of children has been shown to be appreciable. While not a substitute for individual counseling, these group sessions constitute an effective method of pro-

viding minimal therapy and of helping children with their problems and choices. The reinforcement provided by the others in the group is real.

4. *The enrichment of classroom teaching by including planned, recurring attention to instruction regarding the place of education and work in one's life.* Among the guidance learnings which children mature in as they move through the elementary school are those which involve their understanding of the place of education and work in their own lives, and their understanding and appreciation of education and the great variety of occupations in the lives of others. This is an element of the elementary school program of instruction and guidance which has not, as yet, received as much attention as the first three elements.

Vocational development research, the study of the nature of education and of work in the lives of Americans today, and an analysis of the state of change in the world of work, would both dictate much earlier attention to these matters with children. Thus, this fourth element in the school's program is seen not as an incidental offering, but as an essential one. Readers who question the validity of such a conclusion are strongly urged to read two major works of the past few years, *Man in a World of Work*, edited by Borow, and *Man, Education and Work*, written by Venn. It is difficult to read these volumes on work, education for work, and guidance for wise vocational planning without concluding that this fourth element of elementary school guidance is an essential (see Hill and Luckey, Chapter 10).

5. *The planning and the coordination of home and school relations in such a way as to enhance the child's chances of successful achievement in school and his wholesome general development.* There is no need here to justify recognition of the crucial role of the parents, and others in the home, in the child's development during the preschool and early school years. Every book one reads on child development and early childhood education, every speech one hears regarding the needs of children, every discussion one listens to among teachers and others stresses this fact. As one confers with staff members in elementary schools a repeatedly expressed need is for more time, more staff, and more skill for working with parents and the others who rear children.

A special aspect of this need for better coordination of home and school efforts is the problem of underachievement and low aspiration among elementary school pupils. This concern for higher achievement and higher life aspirations was first stimulated by the massive attention to gifted and talented children which accompanied the acceleration of the space race as a result of Sputnik. It should be noted that concern for these children had long been with us. With the arousal of a similar surge of public concern for achievement and aspiration among children who suffer the disadvantaging effects of poverty and of meager cultural stimulation, the need for more adequate staffing and programming of the elementary schools to meet these problems has become ever more apparent.

6. *The provision of coordinative leadership for the fullest possible use of various community resources available for meeting the needs of children and their homes.* Communities differ radically in the scope, and thus the adequacy,

of special social services, consultative and referral agencies, and similar aids to the work of the schools. Yet even the most meager of such services must be tapped with the greatest possible effectiveness. One of the serious handicaps under which the staffs of many elementary schools work is that of immobility. About the only person on the building staff who is free to leave the building to engage in the going-about necessary to effective use of community resources is the principal. He, in turn, may find himself more building-bound than he would like to be. If the central office staff includes school social workers, visiting teachers, or school psychologists, these persons may provide the community contact and referral services needed by those children in greatest need of help. The building staff is still left without adequate community contacts for the many other children whose cases do not compel this kind of work. Thus the classroom teacher is far too often left to her own resources, the use of her own out-of-school time for home visitation, consultation with social workers, religious workers, recreation workers, family counselors, and others whose aid is desired. It is not surprising, therefore, that schools which now have school counselors on their staffs commonly expect these persons to do a good deal of the community work that needs to be done for their children.

7. *The sharpening of the staff's continuing critical study and improvement of the school's instructional program.* Would this seem to be a matter under the jurisdiction of the teachers and their instructional supervisors? It is allied, however, with the promotion of the guidance point of view in a school, and the provision of school counselors will, and should, lead to an enhancement of the insights with which the instructional program is evaluated. There is not much use developing a guidance program in elementary schools without concurrent critical review of the curriculum and the instructional processes. Leaders in elementary education, like leaders in any other phase of education, recognize the need for a constantly alert and critical review of instructional provisions within their schools.

The provision of systematized, planned, and no longer incidental guidance services in schools should make a distinct contribution to this critical review of curriculum and its consequent improvement in the appropriateness of the child's educational experiences. The elementary school counselor has been labeled as a person who should be "a disturber of the peace." He questions the present groups, the content of teaching, and other practices in the school. If this role is to be successfully carried out by the school counselor, he must undertake it in the same spirit of professional concern for children as is shown by the teachers, the supervisor, the administrators, and the other pupil personnel workers.

The most significant contribution that a sharpened guidance emphasis in the school should make to curriculum planning is in the direction of enrichment, to meet the needs of those children for whom the more traditional forms of schooling have been shown repeatedly to be poorly adapted.

8. *Systematic, recurring studies of the children, their school, and their community must be conducted to provide the cumulative body of facts upon which a good program develops and changes.* Too often in schools, as in other

institutions, decisions are made day-by-day either on the basis of habit or on the basis of the pooling of staff judgments. Neither of these bases is, in and of itself, faulty. Yet it is far too easy to assume that both experience and current judgment are sufficient. They typically are not. Children change. Schools change. Communities change. The demands of the broader world about them change. A planned program of local research is essential if these changes—some of them subtle, others dramatic—are to be properly assessed, and their implications applied to the school's program.

This is sound educational policy and practice; but what especially does it have to do with the guidance program? Again, the answer is to be found in the spirit and purpose of guidance. Focusing its attention upon the individual child, the guidance team is usually more alert to the need for factual studies, and more adept at conducting such studies, than are the educators whose primary responsibility focuses their attention upon instruction and management. What research has to say about children in general, or about children in faraway places cannot have nearly the significance, nor the impact, as that which results from studying the children in one's own school or district.

9. *Finally, there must be a persistent effort made to help the whole staff of the school to grow in understanding and in skill.* The elementary school's guidance program is a concern of and a responsibility of the entire staff. Leadership and coordination may be provided by school counselors; but the program is not theirs alone. Thus the planning and the organization of the program is a staff function, though its day-by-day management may reside with the principal and the counselors.

If this planning and organization are to move forward sensibly, the staff as a whole must think through the purposes they wish to achieve and the ways they wish to achieve them. No ready-made plan will be adequate, good as it may be, without staff study, discussion, and decision. This takes time and a great deal of dedicated effort.

It is quite possible that, in a given school, the study and in-service preparation that will ultimately lead to a planned guidance program will not start with guidance as its focus of attention. Many schools have found that an intensified child study project is one of the most fruitful avenues of staff growth. If the district has a director of pupil personnel services, he may well provide a good deal of leadership and aid in such a study program. In many school situations the teachers have concerns which must first be studied before any projects involving curriculum or guidance can be treated successfully. One of the most important principles of staff growth—as of all kinds of learning—is that it must start *where the staff are*.

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL COUNSELOR AND HIS WORK

As we have delineated what we believe to be the more important emphases or elements in the elementary school guidance program, we have referred from time to time to the counselor. This staff member is, in some schools,

called by a different name—child study consultant, guidance consultant, counseling consultant and others. However, the most common title is that of counselor.

Persons carrying guidance responsibilities in a good many of our elementary schools have been recognized as distinctive staff members for a longer period of time than many persons recognize. Of course, that such a person is called a "counselor" does not, in and of itself, define this function. Some would better be called "school psychologists" or "psychometrists." One district which once had "visiting counselors" now calls these people what they have really always been, namely, school social workers.

But the number of persons prepared for the distinctive general practitioner role of counselor on the staff of the individual school is steadily increasing. Their functions are commonly shaped, in part, by the particular combination of specialized staff available in that particular school and district. If the elementary school in question has a school social worker and a school psychologist—and this is the exception rather than the rule—and if these pupil personnel workers are numerous enough to be readily accessible, then elements number 1 and 5 of the list on pages 76-80 are less apt to be assigned to the counselor, and he will give correspondingly more attention to the other elements.

Studies of the reactions of teachers and principals would suggest that the elementary school counselor has become an established professional in hundreds of our elementary schools (Greene, Hill and Nitzschke, 1968; McCreary and Miller, 1966; Raines, 1964; Hill, 1967, and others).

One hardly needs here to reiterate what various professional committees and panels have had to say about the proper functions of counselors in the schools. What does need to be said is that pronouncements from these groups have had much less effect upon school practice and upon counselor education than we might hope. The reason for this is really quite simple. It is that nationally prepared documents, official statements by organizations and experts, mean little until they are translated into action in the local school district. For example, John Samson, counselor at the Enoch School, will carry out his job in his school pretty much as he sees fit and as his principal and the teachers will permit. The ASCA-ACES statement may well reside in his professional library, but his colleagues have probably never heard of it and probably never will unless some concerted effort is made to introduce it into the staff's study of roles and functions in their school.

It is this writer's lot to be involved in consultative work with scores of school staffs. Over and over again he has found counselors who are not aware of the statements of their professional organizations. So if one expects such statements to have an effect upon the much-needed refinement of functions of the school counselor, one must pitch in to help local district staffs study the needs of their schools and the ways in which their peculiar collection of competencies can best meet these needs. In this process, guidelines and standards can be invaluable. But guidelines and standards matter little until they are tossed into the arena of local study and staff growth.

It is my conviction that if the guidance movement in American schools ever dies, the chief reason will be the lack of sufficient effort at staff development activities in the local schools.

Staffing is a process that begins with the most careful efforts at finding the right person. But these efforts come to much less than they might unless there is also a continuing effort at staff development; and this effort entails the involvement of all of the staff, not just the counselors and their other pupil personnel colleagues (Hill, 1968).

EVALUATION OF GUIDANCE IN SCHOOLS

If the reader has had the patience to follow my line of argument to this point, he will not be surprised if I insist that evaluation of the outcomes of guidance, *as such*, is practically impossible. It makes much more sense for a school's staff to ask itself this question: *How can we determine the total impact of our efforts with children?* Total impact evaluation is the attempt to view the effects of the school upon the children in terms of what happens to them as persons. Evaluation of guidance thus becomes a matter of broadening, and perhaps redefining, our goals in terms of the changes in children which we are seeking to achieve. The definition of these desired changes is also very much the concern and responsibility of the parents of these children.

Recently this writer spent a day with a staff of ten pupil personnel workers in a school system seeking to determine how best to evaluate the effects of their varied program upon their 3300 elementary school children. This group included three counselors—one for each elementary school—a school psychologist, an attendance worker, a school nurse, a school social worker, a speech and hearing therapist, a body management specialist, and a director. They had, prior to this meeting, set up a list of objectives that were mainly of the "I propose to do this and that" variety. But a day of intensive discussion produced a set of goals which included such purposes as the following:

To enhance the involvement of the children in the learning processes.

To improve effort, to help children to want to try.

To help pupils respect human beings, to respect self, and to help teachers treat children with respect.

To improve attitude toward school attendance and increase responsibility for attendance.

To improve ability to make social adjustments.

To improve self-direction.

To add to the enjoyment of learning on the part of the children.

These are but a few of the goals developed; but they serve to illustrate that staff discussion of such a matter can shift attention to the children and away from the staff.

It also needs to be emphasized that in the evaluation of the impact of an elementary school upon children, we need to broaden our approaches to give more emphasis to the particular case. This must, of course, be done with hon-

esty; but often the most effective of all kinds of evaluation is that which tells the story of what happened to one child, not just to masses of children or random samples of children (Wellman and Twiford, 1961).

THE RELATION OF THEORY AND PRACTICE IN GUIDANCE

Let me try to make clear my conception of the meaning of theory, and to relate this to my conception of how we may best determine what practices ought to prevail in the schools. There has arisen a certain amount of conflict regarding this relation. Some counselor educators, for example, seem bothered by the insistence that the universities prepare counselors to perform functions which the counselor educators are not at all sure ought to be performed by counselors in schools. Some guidance and pupil personnel workers in the schools insist that "theory is all right, but let's not let theory get in the way" of what they like to call a "functional" program of counselor education.

It is my conviction that a proper wedding of theory and practice in school guidance is essential if either theory or practice is to prosper and improve. Let me illustrate my point with a generalization about which there is little difference of opinion and which is known to be well validated by vast amount of research. Researchers, theoreticians, and practitioners all agree that each child is a unique individual and that his education can be productive only if his uniqueness is both recognized and respected. What is more, all agree that finding ways in which to do this individualizing of the educational experiences of each child requires great skill, a proper team effort in the school, and a creative integration of home-community-school efforts. Such a line of thinking arouses little difference of opinion until we get to the implementation of the idea of individuality.

So the university theoreticians and the school practitioners work together to find effective ways of putting into practice—both in counselor education and in the schools—a basic finding of educational research and educational practice. My point is that the generalization about human nature we have been using as our illustration matters little unless the practice of counselor education and the practice of teachers, counselors, and others in the schools apply the concept with skill and effectiveness in terms of demonstrable results.

Let us take another idea that is well validated by research and that can be, and has been, utilized as a basic assumption both for the theory of counselor education and for the practice of guidance in the schools. This is the idea that human beings in our culture grow up better satisfied with themselves, more effective in their relations with others, and more productive in their daily lives if they mature in self-understanding. "Know thyself" was once merely a fine pronouncement by an ancient philosopher. Today it is an axiom basic to much that we attempt to do in counselor education and in guidance practice. This is a "theoretical" concept only in the sense that a theory is "an idea or mental plan of the way to do something; hence a systematic statement of principles involved" (Webster's, 1957, p. 1511). Again I would

insist that this idea means little unless counselor education can help counselors effectively implement it as they work with children and with the adults in children's lives.

Perhaps a third idea will be sufficient to establish my point. This is the idea that each person in our culture is capable of learning how to make up his own mind about life's choices and has the right to make his own decisions and plot the course of his own life. We well know that some persons find it easier than others to progress toward maturity in this important learning. This third idea also illustrates well how "facts" about human nature which our study of human beings have validated have become heavily colored with values which might best be classified as "philosophy." All three of the ideas used to illustrate our main point about the inevitable tie between theory and practice have become values for which educators daily find themselves fighting as they deal with particular children, in particular contexts, with particular adults—some of whom seemingly could not care less whether or not we respect individuality, the right of the individual to develop his own conception of himself, or the right of the child to make decisions for himself.

FINALLY

This paper has attempted to emphasize the meaning of the elementary school guidance program and its relation to the total effort of elementary schools. Sources are cited in the list of references which provide in greater detail than is possible in this paper the details that need consideration in the development of guidance programs for our schools.

Perhaps the matter which I would most like to emphasize in closing is my profound respect for and faith in the people who staff and manage American elementary schools. When they come together and ask themselves how they can best improve the education they are trying to provide the children in this school, the changes that can be effected, the improvements that can be made, are often amazingly ingenious and hearteningly productive. To me the presence of a well-prepared professional school counselor on the staff enhances and enriches the possibility of bringing the school's program into better harmony with the real needs of its children. The counselor is in hundreds of American elementary schools far more than just a "helper"! He is a catalyst, a "disturber of the peace," a collaborator for the achievement of the best individualized and personalized education the children of that school can be provided.

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6

ROBERT HOPPOCK

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Autobiography

What I have done in the past forty years can best be understood in relation to why I tried to do it.

I was born in 1901 at Lambertville, New Jersey, where my father was the local agent of the Adams Express Company. My most distinguished ancestor was John Lambert, U.S. Senator from New Jersey, who was defeated for reelection because he voted against the disastrous War of 1812. I was married in 1928 to Margaret E. Thornton, a teacher of business education, and have one daughter, Margaret Joan Bedell, and three grandchildren.

When I was a high school student, one of our assembly speakers called our attention to how much daily work could contribute to our satisfaction or frustration. He suggested that both success and satisfaction might be considerably affected by the kind of work we chose to do. I was impressed by what he said. From that day on, I thought of work as something that could and should be a source of satisfaction in itself, as well as a means to other satisfactions.

During the same adolescent period I was an active participant in the Young Men's Christian Association, where I was effectively indoctrinated in the idea that one should work at something that makes a useful contribution to the community.

I was employed before and during college in such varied jobs as shipping clerk in a hairpin factory, car service clerk and payroll clerk for Pennsylvania Railroad, clerk in the machine shop of the DeLaval Steam Turbine Company, express deliveryman, kitchen helper, and camp counselor.

Upon graduation from a liberal arts college, I was uncertain about what to do with my life. I know only that I wanted to do something that I could feel was intrinsically worth doing, from which I could derive the satisfaction of useful achievement, and in which I could enjoy doing most of the things I would have to do. But where to find it!

After several frustrating attempts to get help in making a choice, I went to four libraries and read everything I could find on occupations. In the process I dis-

covered something called vocational guidance. I learned that the people in this field thought there was a real need for more and better occupational information, an opinion which my search seemed to confirm. I decided that, if other people had as much trouble as I finding out what kinds of jobs were open to them, maybe there was a place in the world for someone who would try to make it easier for the next generation to get that kind of information. This is what I have been trying to do ever since.

Having decided what I wanted to do, I wrote to about twenty-five leaders in vocational guidance, asking their advice on how to find a job in their field. All but three of those who replied said, in effect, "Forget it. There are none." Richard D. Allen, then director of research and guidance in the public schools of Providence, Rhode Island, sent an encouraging reply, saying that I was the first person he knew who had chosen vocational guidance as a career, and invited me to keep in touch with him. From 1923 to 1927 I worked as a clerk, a teacher of English and a passenger agent for a transportation company.

I then talked with Clarence E. Patch, counselor educator at Rutgers University, who said that someone had just asked him where to find a counselor and that he would relay my interest. This contact led to my first job in the field. In September of 1927 I became vocational counselor for the public schools of Rahway, New Jersey.

My preparation for this job consisted of three years of business experience, two years as a high school teacher of English, and a summer session at Harvard where I had had John M. Brawer's course in Education as Guidance and Walter V. Bingham's course in Psychological Aspects of Educational and Vocational Guidance.

At Rahway I taught a 9th-grade course called Vocational Guidance, in which I fear I made nearly every mistake that could be made. One of my subsequent motivations as a counselor educator has been a rather red-faced desire to save other beginners from repeating some of my embarrassing mistakes.

During my second year at Rahway I invited a group of other counselors to a meeting at which we organized the New Jersey Vocational Guidance Association and they elected me president. I wrote Dick Allen and told him about it. He responded, "Perhaps you have heard that I have just been elected president of the National Vocational Guidance Association. Get ready, because I am going to put you to work on some committee." I inquired if there was a committee engaged in promoting the introduction of vocational guidance in communities which had no such services. Dick replied, "I guess you have elected yourself chairman of the publicity committee." Later he also made me chairman of the membership committee.

These committee activities led to my appointment in 1930 as the first executive secretary of the National Vocational Guidance Association, which then had fewer than 1500 members. At the Atlantic City convention later that month, my title was changed to field secretary. The work was supported by a grant of \$6000 a year from the J. C. Penney Foundation. My salary was \$3600. In the Depression year of 1931 the Foundation encountered financial reverses and terminated its support. I got the word two days before Christmas.

A frantic search for other sources of support led me to Dean Emeritus James E. Russell of Teachers College, who spoke to Frederick P. Keppel, president of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. He agreed to provide interim support for

one year through the American Association for Adult Education. In 1933, the Carnegie Corporation created the National Occupational Conference and hired me as assistant to the director. From 1936 to 1950 I served in the capacity of editor for the *Occupational Index* and *Occupational Abstracts*.

When N.O.C. completed its work in 1939 I was invited to come to New York University, and I have been here ever since.

For more narrative material see "Guidance Fifty Years Ago," in the December, 1967, issue of *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*.

Editor's Note: Dr. Hoppock has received the following awards:

- 1953 Junior Achievement Award "for inspiration to youth."
- 1956 Honorary Life Member, New Jersey Personnel and Guidance Association.
- 1963 The Academy of Teachers of Occupations Award for Distinguished Service to the Profession "for his dynamic and inspiring leadership in the training of teachers of occupations for many years, and for his consistently outstanding contributions to the literature and research on the teaching of occupations."
- 1966 The New York Personnel and Guidance Association Award "for the outstanding contribution he has made in developing the fields of guidance and personnel and for the liberal and gracious assistance he has always given to his students and colleagues."
- 1967 The National Vocational Guidance Association Eminent Career Award "in admiration and in appreciation for enduring contributions to the noblest principles of vocational guidance."

Occupations and Guidance

In this paper, Robert Hoppock maintains his basic position that jobs lead to satisfaction of a variety of needs.

A job is worth doing for its own sake. Emphasis then should be placed upon the intrinsic nature of work rather than upon the material rewards. To stay in a job that one dislikes is to do violence to the self.

Individuals need help in making appropriate occupational choices, and information about the world of work is one way of providing this help.

Hoppock views group guidance as an important means of supplementing individual counseling. His article also describes his work with the occupational index, occupational abstracts and his textbooks on occupational information, giving perspective to what has been a significant historical contribution.

I AM NOT SURE that I know what my "major contribution to the guidance movement" has been. I know what I have hoped and tried to do, but every now and then my students surprise me by ignoring what I have sought so

diligently to teach them, and by telling me how much they value something they have learned in my classes that I never intended to teach anyone.

As a young adolescent I was often told that "character is caught, not taught." I wonder if this is true also of what students learn from teachers and what clients learn from counselors.

If, in some fortuitous manner, my students have learned to have a little more respect for their own students, to be a little more patient and gentle with the timid ones, to help their students to enjoy learning, and to enjoy it themselves, perhaps these simple things will prove in the end to have contributed more to making a few people a little happier than will any of the things that I deliberately set out to do. I wonder. Because I shall probably never know, I will base this article on what I do know, what I have tried to do, and why.

PHILOSOPHY

If I have a philosophy, it is no more than a belief in a few things that seem to me to be almost axiomatic:

Since nearly every one of us eats food that someone else produced, wears clothes that someone else made, and lives in a house that someone else built, each of us has an obligation to do something useful in return. A job should be worth doing for its own sake, as well as for what it pays in financial or psychic rewards. Finding and holding an appropriate job can add much to our success and satisfaction. Prolonged employment in an inappropriate job can aggravate our feelings of frustration and failure.

There are few, if any, jobs in which a person never has to do anything that he dislikes, but there is no need for most of us to remain permanently in jobs in which we dislike most of the things we have to do.

A person cannot choose a job he has never heard of. Nor can he intelligently accept or reject a job offer or choose to prepare for an occupation about which his information is either inadequate or inaccurate.

Some fortunate persons do find their way into appropriate jobs with no effort and with no help from anyone, and no one quite knows why. Perhaps they are superior human organisms. Perhaps they stumbled on the right information at the right time. Perhaps they are just lucky.

Some less fortunate persons choose to prepare for or seek employment in occupations which are excessively overcrowded, or for which they lack essential qualifications, or in which they find themselves miserable when they do get a job. They might make better plans if they had better information.

Some unfortunate persons can neither accept unwelcome information nor use it effectively, and everybody makes mistakes — but on balance more people will make better decisions if their information is good than if their information is bad.

Occupational information is not the only aspect of good career planning, but it is one of the essentials.

Most of my professional efforts have been devoted to activities that I hoped

would help to make more and better occupational information more accessible to more persons.

I have sought to do this as a public school counselor and teacher of occupations, as field secretary of the National Vocational Guidance Association, as assistant director of the National Occupational Conference, as a counselor educator, as an author, an editor, a member of professional associations, and as a lecturer trying to be a persuasive peddler of my own ideas.

THE TEXTBOOK

I think my major contribution is my book on *Occupational Information*, which probably has had more influence than anything else I have done.

I have tried to include in this book everything that I have learned about where to get occupational information and how to use it in counseling and in teaching.

The book has been both praised and criticized because it is easy to read. As I wrote it I tried to recall the problems I had faced as a bewildered beginner. I tried to write a book for other beginners which would save them from repeating some of my mistakes and help them to do a better job than they might otherwise do.

When one finishes writing a book it is difficult to be certain which of the ideas in it are original and which were appropriated from sources long since forgotten. The parts of this book that I think are original are:

The chapter on the group conference, with its explicit directions for getting local occupational information from former students, employers, employees, unions, and placement officers, and for delivering this information to students before it becomes dated, and without requiring or permitting anyone to make a speech.

The suggested minimum program of occupational information services for an accredited school or college.

The review of research on the teaching of occupations.

The lesson plans and assignments which I have used in my own classes and which some of my colleagues in other institutions have found helpful.

The warnings about recruiting literature and about obsolete pamphlets in occupational files, and the recommendation that both be either eliminated or clearly labeled.

A few frank statements of personal opinion on the use of occupational information in counseling.

THE OCCUPATIONAL INDEX

As a school counselor in 1927 I felt the need for a source to which I could turn when I needed occupational information. There was then no *Occupational Outlook Handbook*, no *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, and Gertrude Forrester had not yet produced the first edition of her *Occupational Literature*. There were a few newspaper and magazine articles, but I could

find no comprehensive bibliography and no periodical index of occupational publications.

Some years later, when I was with the National Occupational Conference, I conceived the idea of a periodical index of occupational books, pamphlets and magazine articles. I discussed the idea with Jennie Flexner, reader's adviser at the New York Public Library, with H. W. Wilson, the publisher of periodical indexes in other fields, and with my associates in NOC. With the financial help of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which financed NOC, we established the *Occupational Index* and I became its first editor. The idea apparently was sound: similar indexes are now produced by several publishers.

THE OCCUPATIONAL ABSTRACTS

One of the assignments given to the National Occupational Conference by its creators was the preparation of some kind of occupational information. Since other publishers had by this time produced a good many occupational books and pamphlets, we decided that our best contribution in this area could be made by appraising and abstracting the available literature on each of several occupations. Since I had suggested the format, I was made the editor. Thus began the series of six-page *Occupational Abstracts*, on more than a hundred occupations. Eventually more than 500,000 of these were printed and sold.

ON THEORY

My one contribution to theory had all the impact of an extra quart of water going over Niagara Falls. McGraw-Hill sent an early draft of the first edition of *Occupational Information* to advisors, and one of them asked for the inclusion of my own theoretical position. He argued that the readers should know what I thought about how people choose careers, so that they could better understand what I was saying about occupational information and its influence on decision-making. So I put down my own thoughts on the subject, which appear with slight revisions in the third edition of *Occupational Information* as "A Composite Theory for Counselors." A few of my students have said that this chapter helped to clarify their own thinking about the choice process, and one or two of my friends have mentioned "Hoppock's theory" in their books, but most writers on theories of vocational choice and development have considerably ignored it. It is still an accurate statement of my own thoughts.

GROUP GUIDANCE

My second book was called *Group Guidance*. It was published in 1949, at a time when prominent persons in our field were still ridiculing group guidance as a contradiction in terms comparable to group courtship. I think

the acceptance which this book received may have helped to encourage the writing and publication of some of the subsequent books on group guidance, group counseling, and the group process.

Most counselors still believe that individual counseling is the most important and most effective part of the guidance process, which may be why so many of them have given up teaching to become counselors, and why they resist going back into the classroom to teach courses in educational planning, career planning, pre-college orientation, and job finding. I am not sure that individual counseling is the most effective technique of guidance. We have only a few experimental studies in which investigators have compared the results of individual and group counseling, but the few that I have seen have shown group counseling to produce equal or better results. The evidence accumulating on individual psychotherapy has led many people to question its effectiveness.

It seems to me plausible that much of individual counseling is ineffective because so much counseling time is consumed by problem clients whom no one else has been able to help and we can't either. Group guidance procedures can be used to reach the larger group of normal students, many of whom may be able to solve their own problems if we give them the information they need.

Until more evidence is available, I am urging my students to divide their counseling hours in half and to spend the remainder in group activities. Whether I have thus contributed to the improvement or the destruction of effective guidance remains to be seen.

THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES

A large proportion of counselor educators are counseling psychologists, who tend to think of counseling as a branch of applied psychology. The counselor education programs which they develop frequently include more courses in psychology than in any of the other behavioral sciences. Although I too am a fellow in counseling psychology of the American Psychological Association, I suspect that some of my fellow psychologists regard me as a renegade. I believe that sociology, economics, anthropology, physiology, and the other behavioral sciences also have substantial contributions to make to counselor competence, that their contributions may be just as important as the contributions of psychology, and that we would have better counselor education and better counselors if we had a better balance among the behavioral sciences in counselor education.

I have said as much, rather bluntly and perhaps unkindly, in a speech called "An Irreverent Look at a Sacred Cow," and in "An Open Letter to School Counselors." The latter was widely distributed at a time when the American Psychological Association was urging that all counselors have a two-year professional education, of which the first year should be in psychology. Some of the leaders of the American Personnel and Guidance Association were members of the APA committee which made this proposal, and an APGA

committee appeared to me to be moving in this direction. I was not the only person, nor the only psychologist, who opposed the APA proposal. My letter stirred up a storm of protest, in the heat of which one group of counselors proposed that APGA recommend that all school psychologists be required to have three years of teaching experience. I have heard nothing more of the APA proposal since that day. Subsequent APGA proposals for counselor education have usually included some reference to a base in the behavioral sciences.

Counselor education is still pretty much in the hands of counseling psychologists, and still draws more heavily on psychology than on any of the other behavioral sciences, but the base is a little broader today than it might have been if the APA proposals had not been opposed. I think I had a part in this; I am not sure everyone would consider it to have been a desirable contribution.

JOB SATISFACTION

While I was a graduate student in Rudolf Pintner's course on psychological testing, it occurred to me that we could better evaluate our efforts in vocational guidance if we had some way to measure job satisfaction, which seemed to be one of our major objectives. For my dissertation topic, I proposed to construct an attitude scale to measure job satisfaction. Pintner approved and became my sponsor. Helen M. Walker and Edward L. Thomdike agreed to serve on my committee. The products of this effort were *Job Satisfaction Blank No. 5* and my first book, *Job Satisfaction*, which reported the development of the instrument and its use in three studies: a comparison of satisfied and dissatisfied teachers, a comparison of employed and unemployed adults, and a survey of job satisfaction in a small American town. The blank has been used in several subsequent investigations by other research workers, and I think it may have encouraged the later production of other instruments for measuring job satisfaction.

With the help of my students I began a series of periodic reviews of "Job Satisfaction Researches" which were published in the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*. I think the book, the measuring instrument, and these reviews have helped to stimulate some of the research on job satisfaction that has been done since 1935.

CONCLUSION

As I approach retirement, I think my own job satisfaction is about as high as it has ever been.

In retrospect I suppose that most of the things I have done would have been done sooner or later by someone else if I had not been here. Because I was here I have had the pleasure of doing them. If they did contribute anything to human happiness, then a few of the members of the present generation have benefited because these things were done when they were, rather than later.

Not many of us are privileged to make contributions which continue to benefit humanity long after we are gone. But most of us can do something to make life a little more pleasant for a few persons of our own generation. Herein, I believe, rests our greatest opportunity for service and for our own personal satisfaction. Herein lie the best possibilities of atonement for the things we have done that hurt other people, and the best antidotes for the corrosive effects of our own failures. For me, at any rate, it has been fun.

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substitute teacher. That was my only full-time teaching experience at the high school level.

In the summer of 1948, Dr. Froehlich talked Dr. Floyd Cromwell, who was then state supervisor of guidance in Maryland, into arranging for me to work as a teacher-counselor at Northeast High School, Northeast, Maryland — not a very big place, but a fine learning environment. I had three periods a day for guidance, taught a chemistry class, served as school librarian, taught one class of 8th-grade mathematics, and coached. In the spring of 1949, Dr. Froehlich and Dr. Cromwell came to see me and informed me that it was time for me to move and become a high school director of guidance in Westminster, Maryland. At Westminster, I taught one class in physics and served as director of guidance (and the only counselor) for about 1500 students. In the spring of 1950, Dr. Froehlich informed me that I had had enough experience and that it was now time to enroll in a Ph.D. program. He had three institutions in mind for me to look at, but it was very clear he thought I should attend the University of Minnesota. After only a slight amount of reflective thinking, I agreed.

During my first year at the University of Minnesota, I served as teaching assistant to my major advisor, Dr. Willis Dugan. At the end of that year, Dr. Dugan arranged for me to become a full-time instructor with prime responsibility for teaching graduate extension courses in guidance and counseling in various parts of Minnesota and working with Minnesota high schools in development of their guidance programs. I did this for three years while working on my Ph.D. degree. It was a most valuable kind of career experience for me.

In the fall of 1954, I went to the University of Iowa as assistant professor of education and the only professor in the area of counseling and guidance. As such, I had students interested in high school guidance, in college student personnel work, in vocational rehabilitation counseling, and in employment counseling. If a student wanted to major in counseling and guidance, he was "stuck" with me as his major advisor, since I was the only one in the area. It is different now.

My interest in professional association work began in 1956, when Dr. Clifford Froehlich appointed me membership chairman for APGA. As the years passed, I became increasingly concerned over what seemed to me to be a lack of involvement on the part of individual APGA members in APGA government and policies. That is why I agreed to run for president of the APGA and why, during my term of office, I worked for what have since become the APGA Bylaws.

A major portion of my professional time, since 1962, has been devoted to directing the Specialty Oriented Student Research Program. I suppose more of my career objectives are wrapped up in this research than in any thing else I have done in my professional life. It helps me, for example, to carry out my deep belief that those of us in guidance must build a body of solid, substantive research knowledge for ourselves to accompany all the information we borrow from other fields. It is a means to implement my commitment to making guidance available to all students in the secondary school, and to fighting the tendency of many counselors to spend most of their time with college-bound students, who least need their help. My belief in the right of students to lead their own lives is being implemented through my attempts to identify differing kinds of educational motivations which students have and which we should help them translate into meaningful actions. It provides me with a concrete means of helping coun-

selsors bring more information into the content of the counseling relationship—a goal I have had for a great many years. Through the way we have established our data collection procedures, I have found a means of involving practicing school counselors directly in research activities. This, too, represents a goal I have had for a long time. Finally, it has provided me with a direct means of helping counselors broaden both the number and number of kinds of educational opportunities from which students can choose. In all these ways, this research program has come to represent many of my most basic beliefs. It has operated, from the beginning, on the brink of financial disaster, and may very well, by the time these words get into print, be dead for lack of financial support. That makes it not one bit less important or meaningful to me.

The only way I know to speak of personal-social influences to my career development is to try to acknowledge those individuals whom I regard as having been most influential in my life.

The first such individual was Dr. Clifford P. Froehlich. He taught the first guidance course I ever enrolled in and was the first to suggest to me that I consider entering the field of guidance and counseling. It was Cliff Froehlich who took the trouble to see that I had multiple opportunities to visit with Harry Jager, when Jager was chief of the Occupational Information and Guidance Section in the U.S. Office of Education and I was a teacher-counselor in Northeast, Maryland. I learned then that even the so-called "leaders" in our field weren't sure of all the answers. Cliff taught me to wonder and to question points of view in this field—and those who hold them. It was Cliff Froehlich who insisted I begin work on my M.A. as soon as I finished my B.S. and who insisted equally strongly that I begin work on the Ph.D. as soon as I had finished my master's degree. Cliff arranged for me to attend the 1950 meeting of the Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations in Atlantic City and to appear on a program with Dr. Harry Kitson devoted to the topic "What's Wrong With Counselor Preparation Programs?" I was much more amazed to discover how much Dr. Kitson seemed to agree with my remarks there than I am now to hear practicing counselors voicing the same complaints I raised at that meeting almost twenty years ago!

It was Cliff Froehlich who insisted, shortly after I came to the University of Iowa, that I work with him on revision of *Guidance Testing*—even though I had published only a very few articles prior to that time. Cliff was the man who introduced me to APGA activities by making me chairman of the APGA Membership Committee while he was serving as APGA President. Yet it was not until he wrote his APGA presidential address, "Stars, Parsons, and Clients," that I really began to appreciate just how deeply and sincerely he was committed to this field. Between that time and his death, Cliff and I talked long and deeply about almost every facet of this field. Since his death, I have felt that I should try to carry on some of what he stood for, in spite of the fact that I know very well that no one ever can or ever will take Cliff's place in the guidance movement. When I am stuck on a knotty professional problem, I still find myself thinking, "What would Cliff do here?" When I think I have figured out an answer to that question, I always feel a lot better.

The second significant influence on my life was Dr. Mitchell Dreese, who served as a major advisor while I was working on my M.A. degree at the George Washington University. Mitch taught me (in spite of the fact that it isn't apparent to many people yet) that I should think about an issue before I commit myself.

He was the one individual who could always think of more than one way to view any problem I raised with him — and he forced me, by his example, to try to do the same. He personified the ideal counselor to me by never telling me what he thought I should do and, at the same time, being willing to listen by the hour while I tried to think through problems. Mitch Dreese was a true scholar, in my opinion. In addition, he was a wonderfully warm human being, who let me know him and, through this, encouraged me to let him know me. I learned much more from the example Mitch set than from the content he taught. It was Mitch who first interested me in vocational aspects of guidance. He was a most significant influence on me.

The third such individual was Dr. Willis E. Dugan, who served as my major advisor when I was working on my Ph.D. degree. It was Bill Dugan who taught me how to teach and how to speak to groups in public. We worked together on these tasks for hundreds of hours. It was Bill Dugan who first demonstrated counseling to me by going with me to a small Minnesota high school where he and I took turns trying to counsel the high school seniors. We each made tape recordings of our counseling interviews and criticized each other during my first year in graduate school at the University of Minnesota. Bill Dugan was the one individual with whom I talked most about the organization and administration of high school programs. It was Bill's idea that he and I should work with a small group of practicing high school counselors by holding monthly meetings and talking about ways of improving guidance in their individual schools. That little group has since become the Lake Area Counselors Association — a very high-powered group of good high school counselors in Minnesota. It was Bill Dugan who really showed me, on trip after trip to different Minnesota high schools, what it meant to say that some guidance exists in every school but it could be made much more effective if combined into a program of guidance services.

It was the combination of letters written by Bill Dugan and Cliff Froehlich which I am sure were the decisive factors in assuring my initial appointment at the University of Iowa. Bill Dugan started me off in giving talks to counselor groups by urging such groups to ask me to speak on occasions when Bill found it impossible to accept their invitations. Bill Dugan was the key individual responsible for my being appointed as editor of *Counselor Education and Supervision* when ACES decided to initiate that journal. He continues to both influence and help my career development.

These three individuals — Cliff Froehlich, Mitch Dreese, and Bill Dugan — have been the key personal-social influences on my career development. This, of course, is not to say they have been the only such influences. An assignment such as this could go on and on. To list all the key individuals involved would probably take a book by itself. My students, my colleagues, on this campus and in other counselor education positions across the country, the state supervisors of guidance with whom I have worked, and literally hundreds of practicing school counselors have also been important influences on my career development. I don't know what else to do here but acknowledge them in this way.

Editors' note: Dr. Hoyt received the 1st Distinguished Service Award from the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision in 1965. He has also been the recipient of the Professional Recognition Award, Iowa Personnel and Guidance Association (1967) and is also in Who's Who in America.

This I Believe

The word "commitment" is given deeper meaning upon reading the article by Kenneth B. Hoyt. Isn't commitment a quality that we constantly strive to develop in all counselors? Hoyt's paper exemplifies the dedication and firm belief in guidance for American youth held by all authors represented in this book.

Hoyt believes that the roots of guidance are found in human values as well as in substantive knowledge. His goals of guidance include (1) helping every student see himself as a worthwhile individual, (2) making the school an optimal learning environment, and (3) offering each student the opportunity to plan what he will do when he leaves the school.

Hoyt feels that the term "guidance" is an appropriate term and should be maintained. He notes that too much emphasis is sometimes placed upon counseling, when in actuality considerable guidance is necessary before counseling can be effective.

Hoyt concludes by commenting upon his perceptions of the school counselor. His ten points dealing with the school counselor are thought-provoking and may well stimulate dialogue and research among counselors and counselor educators.

I BELIEVE in believing. Deep, meaningful, committed believing. Believing which leads to concrete actions. Beliefs so strong that an attack on them is, by definition, an attack on me as a person. When I argue with persons whose beliefs are opposed to mine, I sometimes lose — but I am never beaten. For my beliefs are mine and no one can take them from me. If I give up one or more of my beliefs, it is because I choose to do so. One of the most fundamental qualities of beliefs is that no one can take them away. A second rewarding feature of beliefs is the professional purpose they give to life. The opportunity to express and to implement what one truly believes is the essential difference between living and existing. Finally, beliefs seem important to me in that, if they are truly part of their possessor, they are both right and good for that person. They make him right and they make him good. The fact that such beliefs may be neither right nor good for others is entirely irrelevant. That is why I believe in believing.

Two conditions seem essential for me to operate, my beliefs being as deep and as highly personalized in their meaning as they are. First, I can live this way only so long as I continue to recognize and accept the right of others to hold just as deeply and just as strongly beliefs which are the opposite of mine. The second condition is that I have ceased worrying about the permanence of my beliefs. Because I am deeply and fully committed to one belief today does not mean I will have the same convictions a few years from now. One of the things which upsets me most is for a writer to criticize me in 1969 for a belief I expressed in a journal in 1954 and which I have subse-

quently changed my mind about. So long as I know there are no necessary time limits with respect to how long I must maintain any belief I have, it is easy for me to express those beliefs I feel most strongly at any given point in time.

This is not to say that I have taken lightly beliefs I have held or that they have changed with great rapidity. Neither of those things is true. Most of the basic beliefs I want to express here I have held for as long as I have been associated with the guidance movement. The point is not how much my beliefs have changed nor the directions in which they have changed. Rather, the essential point is my feeling that I have a right to change them whenever I choose to do so.

With this background, it should be obvious why I want to write this document in a personal way. In doing so, I will refer to many things I have published elsewhere. Those who know me well will know what I am talking about. Those who don't can find out if they are interested.

At this point, a decision must be made with respect to the scope of these remarks. I could discuss my beliefs about the guidance movement without respect to any particular setting. On the other hand, I could write about guidance in the school setting. Because the anticipated readers will be school counselors, it seems more appropriate to me to write about guidance in the school setting. Where applicability to other settings is present, it should be evident to the reader.

THE ROOTS OF GUIDANCE: HUMAN VALUES

There are, to me, two basic root systems underlying the school guidance movement. The first of these root systems is concerned with human values—a set of beliefs, attitudes, and points of view which influence our behavior as guidance workers. This value root system has two main roots. The first is our concern with individual freedom. The second is our concern with the worth and dignity of the individual. Each is a very strong influence on my views and actions in this field.

The first human value is that of maximizing freedom for the individual—protecting the God-given right of each individual to lead his own life, to choose from among the widest possible set of alternatives, to try that which he decides to try, to change his prior decisions in ways which now seem more appropriate to him—to determine to the maximum extent possible, and to accept personal responsibility for the life he chooses to lead.

One of the difficulties in writing about a concept such as freedom for the individual is that almost everyone believes himself to be in favor of it. The difference between being in favor of something and not being opposed to it is very great, it seems to me. When I speak of freedom for the individual, it means a very great deal to me. It is this value, for example, which caused me to oppose the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962—an act which directed that individuals be *selected* for training rather than being allowed to choose from among a wide range of possible training opportunities.

It is because of this value that I oppose APGA membership drives designed to recruit new members for the Association—and why I favor instead emphasizing the dissemination of information so that all counselors may have a real and bona fide opportunity to choose whether or not to belong.

This value has led me to spend a large portion of my professional life working toward expanding the breadth and depth of curricular offerings available to youth in the secondary school and in the post-secondary school setting—particularly in the field of vocational-technical education. It has caused me to devote a great deal of my research time to the task of trying to understand differential patterns of educational motivation of youth—and to defending the right of individuals to hold the particular kinds of educational motivations they have chosen as their own. It is this value which has led me to define public education as education available to the public and from which the public can choose—a definition which includes, therefore, both public and private schools.

It is this value of freedom for the individual which leads me to support educational counseling aimed at helping junior and senior high school students choose from among the widest possible range of course and curricular opportunities which can be made available to them. When some say such counselor activity has little importance, I become extremely upset. It certainly does make a difference whenever and wherever we can expand freedom for any individual in any way. One of the finest aspects of freedom is that it is never absolute for any individual—it is an ideal toward which we can always strive because we know we will never completely reach it.

Recognizing that with each crucial decision we make in our lives we restrict our opportunities for freedom in certain directions while increasing them in others, it seems especially important to me that guidance programs begin in the elementary school. If man is to exert some control over his own destiny, instead of simply being victimized by the society in which he grows up, this process must begin early.

Each of these preceding statements will hopefully illustrate the difference between actively believing in freedom for the individual and simply not being opposed to it.

The second human value in the root system of guidance is the worth of the individual as a human being in our society. I truly believe that every individual is a person possessing positive worth—that he is capable of growing, developing, and changing in ways which will be positive for both himself and for the larger society. I truly believe that ultimately the proper standard by which any individual should be measured is himself and that when we use that standard, we can see each person we meet as a person of worth and value—not as a *potential* for becoming something worthwhile, but as worthwhile today.

It is this value which has led me to work so hard on trying to implement the concept of guidance for all. It was my commitment to this value that caused me to object to the wording of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, with its emphasis on the so-called "intellectually able." I objected to the special emphasis on any small segment of our youth, no matter what label is applied to them. I objected much more strenuously to the implication

that some students are not intellectually able. A belief that talent resides within each person is an essential aspect of this value.

This value, like that of freedom for the individual, represents a goal toward which we can strive with full knowledge that we will never completely reach it. The popular expression "Nobody's perfect" should always remain true for every individual. If it can be combined with equal acceptance of the expression "Nobody's worthless," we would have an operational way of viewing the worth of the individual which has action implications for guidance workers. That is, guidance certainly should be for all youth.

Similarly, the goals of guidance are always directed toward improvement, but never towards finality. We should be able to accept the concept that guidance, like education, represents a set of continuing needs and not something capable of completion when a student leaves any particular educational setting.

It was my belief in the worth of the individual which motivated me to work so hard on making changes in the APGA governmental structure which gave a greater voice to the individual APGA member. This is why I worked on building up the state branch and local chapter units of APGA. It is a major reason why I enjoy working with local schools and small groups of counselors. It is a substantial part of the reason why I try to involve practicing school counselors in my research activities. It is why I seek the advice and opinions of practicing counselors with respect to the new directions my research program should take. These are not at all small matters to me. Rather, they represent very important ways in which I can implement my belief in the worth of the individual.

THE ROOTS OF GUIDANCE: SUBSTANTIVE KNOWLEDGE

If the roots of guidance consisted only of belief, counselors could be prepared in any faith temple professing such beliefs. The prime condition which distinguishes guidance from earlier movements designed to 1) help people solve their problems, and 2) predict the future, is that guidance has deep roots in substantive knowledge as well as good intentions and beliefs in human values. I am at least as concerned with how counselors *think* as I am with how they *feel*. Likewise, I am as concerned with what counselors *know* as with what they *believe*. Without trying to develop a complete rationale for either the nature of counselor education programs or counselor certification requirements, let us give some of these roots of substantive knowledge brief attention.

First, guidance has deep roots in the substantive content of psychology. The psychology of individual differences, the psychology of learning, social psychology, the psychology of vocational development, and the psychology of personality development form an important part of the substantive roots of the guidance movement.

Second, and of basic importance for the school counselor, are roots in the substantive content of education. The nature and structure of education in America, philosophy of education, goals of education, and principles of

curriculum development affect both the nature and the functioning of guidance as part of the total school operation. There is, to me, a direct relationship between the importance of knowing about the particular environment in which one works as a counselor and the necessity for using that environment in order to accomplish the guidance function. The school counselor places heavy emphasis on the educational environment in accomplishment of his guidance objectives.

Third, much of the substantive knowledge of guidance has its roots in the domain of statistics, measurement, and research. Many of the activities important in operation of guidance programs depend on basic understandings derived from these areas.

Finally, guidance has rapidly growing roots in the substantive content developed in the field itself. This content is in part methodological in nature, describing ways in which the guidance function is carried out in operation. In part, it is evaluative, presenting evidence relating to the efficacy of various guidance approaches or entire guidance programs. In part, it is ideational, describing what people think, feel, believe about various issues in the guidance field. If its quality were anywhere near as substantial as its quantity, this material would be much more useful to us and acceptable to others. Unfortunately, this has never been true. In spite of this, we have now reached a point where we can say some of the substantive content of guidance comes from the field itself.

Some people view fields such as sociology, economics, and anthropology as representing important roots of substantive knowledge for guidance. I am not one who takes or supports such a view. It may be that fields such as these *should* become important contributors to the substantive content of guidance. But that is another question. They certainly have not done so up to this time. It seems to me that we should seek most eagerly to incorporate the findings of sociology into our body of knowledge. I hope we move in this direction.

THE GOALS OF GUIDANCE IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Why do school boards provide for guidance programs as part of the total school structure? Why do people want to work as counselors in elementary and secondary school settings? Obviously, these two questions could be answered in quite different ways. It is my view that, unless they can be answered in similar ways, the guidance movement in American public education is in serious difficulty. The ways in which we judge ourselves must not be inconsistent with the ways we are judged by those with whom we work. I have, therefore, devoted a great deal of my efforts toward trying to state the goals of guidance in ways which will be acceptable to the general public, to school administrators, to practicing school counselors, and to other professionals in education. The importance of doing so is as meaningful to me as are the goals themselves.

The first goal of guidance is to help every student see himself as the worthy and worthwhile person he is. For a student to see himself as worthwhile demands that he succeed in something—and guidance tries to see that he does. For a student to feel that someone cares about him demands that *someone does*—and guidance tries to see that this happens. For a student to feel that he counts demands that someone count on him—and guidance people do (at least they should!). For a student to feel he has potential demands that he sees goals he can attain—and guidance tries to help students discover such goals. Efforts of guidance personnel to attain this goal sometimes cause others to regard us as "idealistic" or "unrealistic." If we do our job right, the students we seek to serve will prove such persons wrong.

The second goal of guidance is to help make the school an optimal learning environment for the student. To move toward attainment of this goal demands a variety of efforts. We must, for example, be concerned about the pattern of courses a student chooses to take. We must also be concerned with what happens to the student in the classroom. We must direct our attention to the patterns of peer relationships and pupil-teacher relationships which exist for the individual student. We must be concerned with helping each student discover ways in which school can make sense to him. We must be interested in and concerned about those out-of-school student experiences which affect the student's interaction with his school environment. The fact that we share this goal with all other professional educators in the school makes the goal itself no less important—nor does it lessen in any way the importance of the counselor.

The third goal of guidance is to offer each student the opportunity to plan and to make a decision with respect to what he will do when he leaves school. The school's responsibility for helping students in the process of transition from school to their next setting is one in which guidance plays a major role. It is this goal which was primarily responsible for initiation of guidance programs over fifty years ago. The tremendous increase in the variety of alternatives open to youth simply reflects an ever-growing need for sound programs of guidance services available to all students.

These, to me, represent the goals of guidance in elementary and secondary schools. They share several characteristics important to my view of the guidance function. First, each of these goals leads to a concern for each and every student in the school. Guidance really is for *all* students. Second, none of these goals will ever be capable of complete attainment. There will always be more to do. Guidance really is *developmental* in nature, and is most appropriately measured as progress toward rather than complete attainment of, goals.

Third, as our total society increases in complexity, the attainment of each of these goals becomes increasingly difficult for the student to achieve without sound guidance. Thus, the need for guidance is always increasing in our society.

Fourth, the goals of guidance are *not* goals held only by those who call

themselves counselors. Whatever "uniqueness" this movement seeks to possess will not be found in the nature of our basic goals. This, to me, is something we should rejoice in and capitalize on. It certainly is not something to be lamented. Finally, the goals of guidance will be attained by students to some extent whether or not any guidance program exists in the school. Students will make some movement toward each of these guidance goals because they must.

THE NATURE OF GUIDANCE PROGRAMS

First, both the word "guidance" and the word "program" are extremely important to me. The word "guidance" is one which many people have tried to eliminate from the professional literature. I have tried just as hard to retain it. The prime reason why I have done so is that I want it recognized as a concept which involves more than counselors—and certainly much more than counseling. I simply don't believe—and I have certainly never seen any evidence to change my beliefs—that counselors can make significant progress toward helping students attain the goals of guidance if only the counselor is working toward these goals. To say this does not, to me, imply any lack of faith in counselors, but only recognition that the goals of guidance are such that they demand positive action on the part of a variety of persons in education.

Part of the reason I want to retain the word "guidance" is that I have no valid reason for believing that counseling, by itself, is very good at all as a means of helping youth attain many guidance goals. Research evidence aimed at assessing the efficacy of counseling is abundantly clear in demonstrating that counseling *per se* is a pretty ineffective process. If this statement sounds harsh, it is considerably milder than my feelings on this subject. I support our continuing efforts at counseling because it is the best vehicle I know for helping people make decisions and which still protects the right of the individual to lead his own life. At the same time, I deplore the emphasis some have given to counseling, because once an individual has made a choice or decision in the counseling interview, so much remains to be done to help him implement successfully the choices he has reached. The things which lead up to counseling, the counseling relationship itself, and the things which follow counseling comprise "guidance"—and this is what leads me to believe that counseling is only a part of the larger guidance process. I think this movement has given undue emphasis to counseling in terms of its relative importance in the entire guidance process.

Part of the reason I want to retain the words "guidance" and "program" is that I really believe this should be a schoolwide effort involving all professional staff members in the school. I regard the counselor as a pivotal figure in the guidance program, but not as the only person responsible for the success or failure of the program in terms of attainment of guidance goals. I believe that the key professional person with whom the counselor relates in his work is not the school psychologist, the school social worker, or any

other individual or combination of individuals in the so-called "pupil personnel services" area, but the classroom teacher.

Second, and related to what I have just said, I support very strongly the notion of guidance as part of a broader set of pupil personnel services in the school. If we really believe what we say about our concern for all pupils in the school, we must recognize that at the extremes of many of the pupil distributions which could be formulated are some pupils guidance people don't know how to help. I would like to see a pupil personnel team in every school consisting, at a minimum, of counselors, school psychologists, and school social workers. But I am not one of those who would support holding up the further growth and development of guidance until the other pupil personnel specialties have caught up in relative numbers of professional staff members employed in the school. It is not the fault of guidance that other pupil personnel specialties have used the wrong strategy in making themselves acceptable to those who employ school personnel while we in guidance have used strategy that has worked. I will be glad if other pupil personnel specialties catch up to us, but I am not content to let guidance wait until they do.

Third, I support the concept of information as a key element in a program of guidance services. Whenever data exists that is pertinent to decisions or choices students are trying to make, I believe the guidance program should exert every effort to help make those data available to students. My thinking here is highly influenced by a substantial amount of research showing that assistance in educational and vocational decision-making represents both the kinds of assistance schools and parents want counselors to provide and the kinds of problems students are most prone to bring to counselors. This kind of priority ordering on the part of both those who employ school counselors and those who seek their assistance should not be ignored nor taken lightly. Faced with these priorities, the fact that some students have other kinds of problems and that some counselors are successful in working with such students on those problems is irrelevant. That is, we are speaking of a general emphasis affecting the operation of guidance programs and preparation of school counselors. The general emphasis of both those who hire and those who seek out school counselors is clearly on assistance in educational and vocational choice, decision-making, and adjustment. My feelings here are, admittedly, also influenced by my own biases. That is, I recognize and admit that the research evidence may be interpreted as reflecting the kinds of counselors we produce. I happen to be one who likes to see information viewed as important in counseling.

When I think about the goal of helping students make "better" decisions, I think of decisions which are based on increased knowledge and understandings on the part of the student with respect both to himself and to his environmental opportunities. It is hard to imagine obtaining increased understanding in the absence of any new knowledge. It is impossible to accumulate new knowledge by simply recognizing or "feeling" that some is needed. Both the counselor and the student have to work hard to acquire such new information, to interpret its meaning as information, and to help the student interpret

the meaning which this information holds for him in relation to decisions, choices, and adjustments he is trying to make. By this, I do not mean to picture the counselor as *the* information giver and the student as *the* recipient of information. Each can and should function in both roles. I am simply trying to say that if "better" decisions are to be made, then some new information must become available to the student. I believe in data.

Fourth, and I am sure this must sound paradoxical to some, I believe in non-data-laden emphases for guidance programs, too. When I spoke of the need for information, I did so in terms of the majority of problems a majority of students bring to the majority of counselors. But guidance programs are for *all* students with *all* kinds of problems related to the picture they have of themselves, how well they do in school, and what they do with their lives after they leave the school. Sometimes some students have some problems they bring to some counselors which information, as such, helps not at all in solving. They have a perfect right to do so, and should find counselors who are both willing and able to be of assistance to them.

Much more important here is recognition of the fact that, even in cases with a heavy need for new information in the form of concrete data, there is a very real need for "non-data" considerations as part of counseling. If a student is unhappy, sad, anxious, or upset, the counselor does not help him most by measuring the extent of his condition. At times such as this, the student's primary need is for understanding and not for information. This is why, much as I believe in information, I am not one who wants to jump on the bandwagon of "reinforcement counseling," which currently seems to be gaining so much in popularity. To reinforce a student's expression of need for information and to fail to reinforce other expressions of need is, to me, to ignore the fact that the student is a human being with human feelings and emotions that are highly important in decisions he will make and essential to recognize in the counseling relationship.

Similarly, much as I believe in information as data, I believe just as strongly that the literal meaning of the data satisfy only a part of our concern in guidance. At least as important a part is the meaning of the meaning for the individual we are trying to help. This is why, in spite of the fact that it would be easy to do so, I have refused to convert student informational materials produced in the Specialty Oriented Student Research Program to computer-assisted counseling. Instead, I have produced them in a form which is intended to be used in the counseling relationship by counselors and students working together. While I have no doubt but what computers can and will be used to assist both students and counselors, I do not believe in using the phrase "computer-assisted counseling." That is, I do not believe the computer will ever replace either the counselor or the counseling relationship. I believe in "non-data" too.

A fifth basic anchor of my perception regarding the nature of guidance lies in the importance of environmental manipulation as a means of helping students attain guidance goals. The phrase "environmental manipulation" carries negative connotations for many people who see such activities as doing things to students which impinge on the student's freedom. I take an opposite

view, in that I see environmental manipulation as a means of creating the kinds of positive conditions which will allow students to do things for themselves—and thereby to be more free to lead their own lives. Some, I know, take the point of view that to decide to manipulate a student's environment is to "play God" and that counselors have no right to do so. I contend that one doesn't have to be very intelligent—let alone godlike—to realize that for many students certain conditions in their environment are handicapping to them and consequently keeping them from being all they are capable of and wish to become. I further contend that if counselors wish to view themselves as agents of change, they shouldn't hesitate to take an active role in making change take place.

The key element in environmental manipulation which makes it a guidance rather than a nonguidance activity is the involvement of the student in the entire process—including the decision to undertake environmental change. If a counselor involves himself in environmental change without in any way taking the student's wishes into account, I would agree that such behavior is inconsistent with what I want to call guidance. If, on the other hand, the student is an active participant in the plans and actions, then I see environmental manipulation as a very important guidance function. It is, in effect, helping the student control his environment rather than letting the environment control the student.

Perhaps a few examples of guidance as environmental manipulations would be helpful in clarifying my position here. If a teacher arbitrarily decides to shift a student's seat in the classroom, that is not guidance but environmental manipulation. If, on the other hand, the student has told his teacher or counselor that those sitting beside him are keeping him from doing his work and he wants to be moved, to manipulate the environment by moving his seat is a part of the guidance function. Similarly, to work with students in deciding to join out-of-school clubs for the purpose of gaining friends can be considered part of guidance. So are counselor efforts with parents and students involved in planning a quiet place for the student to study at night.

Now, these kinds of activities are certainly not counseling. But they are an important part of guidance and a major reason why, in spite of the relative lack of efficacy of counseling *per se*, we see some fairly positive results when programs of guidance services are evaluated. Environmental manipulation, used as a means of helping students implement decisions they have reached in counseling, can be a very important part of the guidance function. I am in favor of environmental manipulation when it is viewed in this way. In taking this point of view, I am trying to say that I don't care who or what receives credit for helping students nearly as much as I do that students get the kinds of help which will aid them in attaining the goals of guidance.

THE SCHOOL COUNSELOR

As the final aspect of this personal expression of viewpoint, it seems to me I must comment on my perceptions regarding the school counselor. As with each of the other topics I have selected, this is one which could be a book

all by itself. Therefore, only the highlights of what I would like to say can be included here.

First, I want to see school counselors who really do have a concern for, and an abundant amount of confidence in, the students with whom they work. I think it would be very hard not to be helpful to students if the counselor is this kind of person. Conversely, I think it would be living a lie to pretend to be a school counselor if one failed to possess this basic quality.

Second, I want to see school counselors who are really a part of the guidance and personnel movement in the United States. By this I mean in part counselors who have internalized the goals of guidance. I want counselors to know—not to have to ask—what is basically right about our field. Even though it probably isn't true, I want counselors to believe, as I do, that there is no more important, vital, or worthwhile thing they could be doing in American society than being a counselor. In part, I mean counselors who believe so much in the basic goals of guidance that they are willing to defend them anywhere and at any time—no matter what the cost. I want counselors who really believe in what they stand for, and who are willing to stand for that in which they believe. I want counselors who believe deeply enough in this movement that they are willing to invest their time, their money, and their energies in professional association activities aimed at making those associations effective influences on American society.

Third, I want to see school counselors who can answer, with equal ease and conviction, the following two questions: 1) Why did you choose to become a counselor? and 2) Why did you choose to become a counselor in a school setting? I want to see school counselors answer the first of these two questions in ways similar to professional counselors in nonschool settings—and vice versa. There is a commonality of mission, of goals, of motivations, and of background among all who deserve to be known as "counselor." I want school counselors who are as deserving of this title as are counselors in any other setting. I also want to see school counselors who will join with other counselors in trying to protect the meaning of the word "counselor." This, to me, is essential.

It is equally essential that the school counselor be able to answer the second of these questions. It should be answered primarily in terms of beliefs, convictions, backgrounds, and knowledge of education. I want school counselors to be as proud that they are educators as they are that they are counselors. I want school counselors to be able to see how the goals of guidance fit in with the broader goals and objectives of education—to see guidance as an integral part of the school and themselves as an integral part of the professional staff of educators in the school.

Fourth, I want to see school counselors with a solid, professional background. To me, this means a minimum of one full year of graduate study in the areas identified earlier as representing the substantive roots of guidance. I have no objections to counselors pursuing their studies longer than a year, but I am not one of those who believes the minimal length of time required

to adequately prepare a school counselor is two full academic years. My reasons for this are: 1) I have graduated many school counselors with one year of preparation who are doing remarkably well in the field—who, in my opinion, are living proof that the *minimum* is not two years; 2) I don't believe we yet have sufficient substantive content in the guidance field to justify claiming two years as the *minimum*; and 3) the proposals I have seen for filling two academic years of a student's time include an overemphasis on practicum which I simply cannot believe is justified. While I want to see no counselor education program that does not require a high-quality practicum experience for all prospective counselors, I simply do not believe it is necessary to have one-fourth to one-half of the entire program devoted to practicum—provided the candidates have an adequate background of preparation and experience in education prior to enrolling in the program.

Fifth, I want to see school counselors with teaching certificates and demonstrated successful teaching experience. I have written a great deal elsewhere with reference to my reasons for this belief and so will not repeat those arguments here. Those who read carefully what I have written previously on this subject will see that I have never contended that it is impossible to become a good school counselor without such a background. Rather, I have tried to make clear that this kind of background is highly desirable and that, so long as I can find people with this kind of background, I have little reason to search for candidates whose backgrounds I regard as less desirable. That's all. If someone wants to know if I have ever produced counselors without teaching certificates and teaching experience, I can answer affirmatively because we have graduated several such people from our program. The fact that they have, almost without exception, become successful school counselors doesn't change anything. At least it doesn't to me, because that was never the basis for my argument in the first place.

Sixth, I want to see school counselors who have clear and accurate notions regarding the role of the counselor in the school setting. I want counselors who are able to communicate this role effectively to school administrators and to other professional educators in the school. I want counselors who are both able and willing to say "This is not part of my role" when necessary. I can feel very little sympathy for practicing counselors who complain that they are kept so busy with noncounselor duties that they never have a chance to act as a real counselor. Such persons, in my opinion, failed to communicate counselor role clearly when they were in their first year on the job. A counselor ought to be able to keep himself busy doing guidance work—so busy it would be difficult for anyone to assign him to nonguidance activities. In those few situations where administrators absolutely refuse to allow counselors to perform a guidance role, I want counselors with enough inner security and dedication to resign and move to another position. With the tremendous shortage of counselors existing today, this can justifiably be done.

Seventh, I want to see school counselors who are as flexible regarding the methodology of guidance as they are firm regarding the goals of guidance. The "technique"-oriented counselor who thinks there must be only one best

way of carrying out the guidance function appeals not at all to me. I want to see counselors who are willing and able to think of new and different ways of carrying out their guidance duties—who worry less about how we are doing things than with whether we are getting the job done. I want counselors who will be content with learning many of the “how to” aspects of guidance after they are on the job and who are willing to concentrate in counselor education programs primarily on the “why should” and “what should” aspects of guidance. I want counselors who are bright enough to figure out a wide variety of ways of accomplishing things once they have clearly in mind those things which should be accomplished.

Eighth, I want to see counselors who are perpetually dissatisfied but seldom discouraged by the opportunities available for youth. When I say I want counselors to be “agents of change” I mean I want to see counselors who are trying to change things. I want counselors who are not content to let unfavorable conditions exist for students because “that’s the way things are,” or “it’s a rule,” or “we’ve always done it this way.” Instead, I want counselors who are prone to question why things are the way they are and to explore ways of making them better for the students they serve. I want to see counselors on the edge of change. At the same time, I don’t want to see them go over the brink! I want to see counselors who are militant without being unreasonably obstinate in their demands. This means that counselors have to be content with even small steps which represent some progress—so long as they can see possibilities of taking still more small steps in the foreseeable future. In a nutshell, I want counselors who are *evolutionary*, but not *revolutionary*, agents of change. A first part of any counselor’s job is to hold it, but an equally important part is to be able to live with himself—not just to keep quiet about conditions which he knows to be wrong.

Ninth, I want to see counselors who are interested in, concerned about, and able to engage in evaluation of the guidance program in which they operate. At this point in time, the worth of the guidance program is under serious scrutiny from a wide variety of sources. The practicing school counselor cannot, it seems to me, meet his professional responsibilities if he fails to become an active participant in evaluation of guidance. Guidance is no longer automatically regarded as “a good thing” by teachers, administrators, school boards, parents, or students. Too many adults with whom today’s counselors must work had some very bad counselors when they were in school. We cannot count on the evaluation function being performed as part of larger university research projects. This, to me, is a responsibility the practicing school counselor must regard as part of his job.

Tenth and finally, I want to see counselors who are themselves willing to change with change. I want counselors to continue their education for purposes of upgrading their competencies, but I want continuing counselor education just as much because of the rapidity with which the field itself is changing. It’s very hard to be an effective agent of change if one resists change within himself. I want to see counselors who are anxious to, not anxious about, changing their own professional competence and outlook.

There are probably some who will say that counselors are not now and are not likely to become the kind of people I have described. It is my view that many thousands of today's school counselors are this kind of person right now. As I think of the people who have gone through a counselor education program with me, it seems to me that I have described the typical, rather than the atypical, graduate. I have seen many more counselors in other parts of the United States who came from other counselor education programs and who are also this kind of people. I have abundant confidence in today's practicing school counselors.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

What I have written is what I believe at the present time. I have taken issue with several aspects of the guidance movement not for the sake of arguing, but because I really believe them to be wrong. I have tried to state my beliefs so people will know what they are — not so people will believe as I do. My basic purpose in writing these remarks is to make you, the reader, think — not to tell you what to think. I have written the way I have in order to *impress*, but not in order to be *impressive*. At least you should know where I stand. If knowing this helps anyone think about and determine where he stands, these remarks will have served their purpose.

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8

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Autobiography

I suppose anyone trying to understand his current views in terms of his own intellectual history will be able to recognize certain themes that run through that history, barely discernible at times, rising to loud crescendoes at others. Perhaps my training as a professional musician suggests this manner of looking at the way one lives one's life.

It may be that an inborn ability to recognize musical pitch without external cues, and to find keen interest in combinations of tones—harmony and dissonance and the infinite ways these combinations can be resolved (subject always, of course, to the mood and tempo in which they immediately occur)—has been fundamental to the way I have undertaken to comprehend and deal with my world.

One of the themes that has run through my life-style found dramatic statement for me one day in the 1940's when I went to the Rockefeller Institute to invite Alexis Carrell to meet with an advanced seminar of my students. I knew Dr. Carrell had succeeded in developing a serum in which he was able to keep chicken heart tissue alive indefinitely, with the cells increasing in geometric ratio so that they had continuously to be cut back. He also had just published his book, *Man, the Unknown*. But the thing that impressed me most deeply was a new development in his research, made possible, he told me, by a mechanical pump, similar to a heart, that Charles Lindbergh had invented expressly for him. This permitted Carrell to study how infinite variables, introduced into the serum he had invented, affected living thyroid tissue, for example, and how the tissue reacted to these changes as evidenced by the way the tissue changed the serum. I had a sense that here was one man ingenious enough not to have to kill things or even make them stand still in order to study them. He had devised a way of studying one element as it interacted in an environment capable of

Infinite variety. He could also determine how that element changed its environment as it interacted.

I have wondered often what Dr. Carrell might have been able to accomplish if he had lived long enough so that his acute, imaginative observation might have been linked with the new possibilities of our electronic age.

Another theme with which I am presently deeply engaged — as anyone must be in this world today — is how best to preserve freedom and bring about a better life for all. I am convinced that this is not accomplished by the efforts of specialists to hammer out finer and finer definitions of rights, not by tinkering endlessly with such mechanical matters as due process, rules and penalties. Nor is it accomplished by hatred and violence. I am convinced that the preservation of freedom and the bettering of life will come about only as people as individuals all become more deeply knowledgeable, as they become more concerned, and also as they are helped to understand and exercise responsible control over their own life-styles of thinking and feeling and behaving.

For many years I have met frequently with groups of high school and college students all over this country, and sometimes also in other countries. I have also observed in many elementary classrooms. I have been impressed in the last fifteen years or so with the general lack of interest and social responsibility on the part of the great majority of students (with notable exceptions always, of course). I have gained the impression that most of the "brightest and best-balanced" students and even many capable of great idealism were following individualistic paths that they hoped would assure their "success" in getting into the college of their choice, being recommended for fellowships, being recommended for admission to good graduate and professional schools, and thus into a life that they "hoped would prove useful." And in this process, as some of them regretfully realized, they were leaving vacuums that were quickly filled by students single-minded in purpose, aggressive and hostile, who were finding self-realization in a type of leadership which the "bright and well-balanced" did not like, but which — having abdicated — they found themselves powerless to influence. So they have tended to abandon the field of social responsibility even more completely.

Most immediately I have watched the Columbia affair at very close range — both night and day sometimes. I have actually lived right in the center of it. The behavior, the tactics, the prepared statements, the many polls (a few very carefully designed¹), and conversations with students, deans, and faculty have convinced me that the same dynamics were in operation in a cataclysmic way at Columbia that I have been seeing everywhere.

The majority of Columbia students and faculty have been appalled at what has happened at Columbia. Their private plans have been wrecked; the courses for which they had paid high tuition in most cases could not be held because of the strike imposed by the minority. And yet the minority had something to talk about that was news. What could the great majority say except that their own

¹ See especially the study made by Allen Barton, director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia, with the financial assistance of the Russell Sage Foundation.

individual plans had been blown sky-high? Who really cares about the private plans of a stranger when others are roaring in unison about exciting issues?

The development in our educational institutions of student generations who will have the knowledge, good judgment, goodwill and courage to take on the ordering of society in a sensitive, fully dependable and responsible way should be a fully acknowledged undertaking of every educational institution. As my paper states, I should like to see large numbers of small groups in our schools and colleges vigorously engaged in preparing to tackle the many complex problems of our day. In the process of this inquiry a spotlight should be turned frequently on the quality of thinking that is being carried on. We need to develop anew a respect for good thinking and unwillingness to substitute hysteria and emotion for carefully groomed rationality. Students in such small groups, I believe, might be helped to understand cultural variation, human relations, the nature of community, and the fact that human beings can, to a large degree, determine their own collective futures if they are wise enough and good enough and act with determination when they are really prepared and entitled to do so. They probably will come to see — all but those who are compulsive activists — that they are relative amateurs until they have had some years of good solid study and work.

I am concerned that, because they admire the energy and laudable intentions of most of the young, many guidance personnel workers seem willing to promote the active, aggressive ones to almost any positions of policy responsibility they ask to assume. Is it sensible to expect the present younger generation to turn over decision-making responsibilities in a few years to the next generation of 15-30-year-olds and rest on their laurels the last 40 to 50 years of their lives? Why not have our 15-30-year-olds getting deeply into the problems they will face so that they will be better able to handle them when they are "the older generation," 25 years old and older?

I think I really care about people as individuals, all colors, both sexes and homosexuals, richer and poorer, sick and healthy. It is important that life be good for the young so that they will be prepared to spend not just ten or fifteen years but all the years of their lives trying and able to improve our world for all.

I could not have spent 26 years as founder and director of the Guidance Laboratory at Columbia's Teachers College without realizing that many individuals need and can profit from remedial work. While emphasizing the "deeper teaching" aspects of guidance-personnel work, I would not do away with psychologists, psychiatrists, and individual counseling, which most of us can profitably use at times and some of us need desperately at times of crisis. We do need to take a fresh look, I think, at what guidance-personnel workers should be giving to human beings and, through education, to their society.

Anyone who attempts to write an autobiography with no mention of the significant and dearly beloved others in his life is, of course, holding out on those who will read it. We undoubtedly learn our deepest and most important lessons from those persons with whom we choose — or, because of circumstances, we have — to live most intimately. In my own view I have been profoundly blessed in the kind of people with whom I have been permitted to live most closely. My big circle of friends is populated by a motley and wonderful collection of human beings. Even those who have a minimum of qualities for which I could honestly

congratulate them are often colorful, and, anyway, why should anyone hate or despise others who seem to have been deprived of aspects one can admire and enjoy?

I would not expose those I love most dearly, or those whom I do not, to the alien eyes of others who could not possibly understand on the basis of the few hundred words permitted here. The reader's own life undoubtedly will help his imagination to supply the kind of general understanding about the nature of one's most intimate life which cannot be described here in detail.

Guidance-Personnel Work in the Electronic Age

College student personnel work is where much of the "action" is today. Confrontations between college students and student personnel workers are almost a daily occurrence. The time of the university as an ivory tower retreat is past.

Esther Lloyd-Jones discusses some of the conditions leading to college student unrest in her article Guidance-Personnel Work in the Electronic Age. The college and the college student both have the dilemma of being responsible to the community while at the same time having a responsibility for changing current conditions. Some student unrest may result from societal conditions not clearly understood either by students or by college administrators. Her statements may offer some direction to those currently on the firing line.

THE EDITORS OF THIS VOLUME suggested that each contributor make a philosophical or theoretical statement of the major contribution each thought he or she had made to the guidance movement. This smacks loudly of the past tense. Is it—baldly put—an opportunity to write one's own epitaph? It also brings to mind the lightning bug who may have thought he was brilliant,

But he hadn't any mind,
He went bumping through creation
With his headlight on behind.

And yet when I agreed in a lighthearted moment to write a philosophical or theoretical statement about some of the beliefs I hold today, I was fortunate to have as background material a study Eleanor Schetlin (1967) has just completed of everything I have published between 1929 and 1966. Even more useful for my present purposes was a summary Dr. Schetlin (1968) made of her study, giving her interpretation of what Lloyd-Jones "believed," "purposed," "described," "maintained," "attacked," "viewed," "discussed," "recommended," "noted," "expressed," "emphasized," "wrote," "declared," "pictured," "observed," "warned," "pointed out," "reappraised," "found," "con-

tended," "questioned," "advocated," "deplored," "reemphasized," "initiated," "predicted," and "innovated" over thirty-seven years. Schetlin points out some themes that she says run consistently through the writings she examined. For instance, "Two years before the American Council on Education published *The Student Personnel Point of View* and thirty years before phenomenology became a widely discussed concept, [Lloyd-Jones] described 'the student personnel point of view' in terms now identified as phenomenological, as a point of view used to see the student more clearly in his uniqueness" (Schetlin, 1968). From this particular point of view there has been no retreat. According to Schetlin there are a number of other basic positions and ideas that have appeared consistently in my writings over the years.

No retreats? Consistency? Well, no retreats, perhaps, but at least one large well-rationalized position which I carefully spelled out (Lloyd-Jones and Smith, 1938) and then renounced (Lloyd-Jones and Smith, 1954). The 1938 book developed the pattern that has been followed monotonously in a number of other books since that time: 1) a pious profession of principles and beliefs, 2) a description of functions and services that constitute a proper program, and 3) a formula for sticking these functions and services together with organizational forms and administrative processes which will insure that they operate like a well-engineered machine.

In 1954 I specifically renounced this view of personnel work and coedited a book that attempted to describe student personnel work as a way of "deeper teaching" (Lloyd-Jones and Smith, 1954). I know now better than I did then what I was reaching for in 1954, and what I didn't like about the tidy 1938 formula. I can explain more clearly now what "deeper teaching" means and I think I see better now than I did in 1954 some ways to implement my changed concepts.

MAN'S VIEW OF THE WORLD AND OF HIMSELF

One way of explaining the change in my views is in terms of how it seems to me our whole way of thinking about ourselves and the world has changed. Man's view of himself and the world has undergone at least three sweeping revolutions. For many centuries primitive man undoubtedly had a hunting, prey-or-be-preyed-upon, kill-to-live orientation toward life. We see vestiges of this view in modern life, of course, but today it is not considered an enlightened view and is generally disapproved. Then, many centuries later, when man (or, as the historian Mary Beard postulates, woman) learned to collect, save, and plant seeds, man became a tender of plants. Our agricultural era began. This changed man's whole stance toward the universe and, of course, made him a different person than he had been when he was essentially a hunter.

Then about two hundred years ago man began to change from a tender of plants into a tender of machines. This is the role that still pretty largely dictates how modern man views the universe and how he thinks he must try to

fit into it. Thinking has a large analogical component. When man "naturally" sees life in terms of mechanics with linear, consecutive relationships, he tends to impose this view on his whole universe. The mechanical way of viewing and operating is the way man today knows best. And so he sees education pretty much as a factory operation. He tests human materials and feeds them into "appropriate" educational programs or onto tracks to be processed. Students are thus prepared to fit into the vast and complicated economic-social machine; they are taught how to put things together and to turn the wheels that will keep the machine producing. Man, furthermore, has the duty of consuming the products of the machine so that the machine will be kept busy and will not rust. He is therefore an essential part of the machine as well as the operator of the machine.

The factory system has given rise to ever greater specialization. Specialists must, of course, be put together into functional relationships. Organization and administration are essential to do this, and they become more and more complex and difficult as more and more highly specialized parts must be related. The administration of these services has become big business, as more and more students have gathered together in single institutions, and more and more specialists have been employed to service different parts of students' lives. Bureaucracy burgeons and the consequences of bureaucracy seem inescapable.

Even those who see counseling as the sum total or the heart of guidance-personnel work are unconsciously trying to protect themselves from becoming a part of a machine. Some self-professed counselors may hope to remain free of factory mentality, and to continue concentrating on the total introspective lives of individual students—as they are presented in 50-minute segments over a period of time in an antiseptic closet big enough for two. On the other hand, however, many counselors exist either to fit individuals into the economic machine more smoothly or to help them find hope and comfort when the machine has chewed them up.

Human unrest and distress as recently expressed by students and faculty—and also by administrators, who are fleeing from presidencies and deanships in droves—are an indictment against this view of life as mechanical, and of schools and colleges as factories. The situation seems, in many instances, to be a throwback to the time when men sought to destroy in order not to be destroyed. It also serves to remind us that Rousseau's theory of human nature as basically good and sweet (which so many educators and psychotherapists have adopted as basic to their practice) may not be as true as the later theories about inborn aggression. Guidance-personnel workers have been taught to see human nature as good and to be endlessly patient with restless students, hoping that the causes of their unrest will evaporate.

An analysis of the behavior and statements of dissidents, however, reveals little that reliably promises to improve life for everyone. It does, however, reveal a desire on the part of the leftists to redistribute power—each wanting more for the group of which he is a member—and to destroy what they expe-

rience as distasteful. Others, of course, seek to protect and maintain what they have experienced as advantageous for themselves. As John Gardner (*New York Times*, July 27, 1968) has put it:

Twentieth century institutions are caught in a savage cross-fire between uncritical lovers and unloving critics. On the one side those who love their institutions tend to smother them in the embrace of death, loving their rigidities more than their promise, shielding them from life-giving criticism. On the other side there is a breed of critics without love, skilled in demolition but untutored in the arts by which human institutions are nurtured and strengthened and made to flourish.

SOME POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES

If hunting, agriculture and machinery are inadequate models for education and eventuate in undesirable outcomes, what alternatives do we have?

Some prestigious educators—presidents of higher education associations, professors of higher education, and discouraged deans—propose to sidestep all problems by dropping back to a laissez-faire, do-nothing position toward all aspects of student life “except cheating, plagiarism, misuse of equipment, damage to college property, and interference with the rights of others to use campus facilities.” They are advocating that college students “should have exclusive power of self-determination over their private lives and the conduct of their own group living.”

It is understandable, in light of the ways in which student personnel administrators have been painfully burned, that they should not want to touch anything that feels even warm. And yet it seems cowardly of the older generation calmly to abandon youth to its fate. These educators are saying, in effect, “If you haven’t learned to swim before you get to high school, and if you aren’t able to make it in rough water when you get to college, just go ahead and drown. See if we care.”²

It may be significant to point out that it is never women personnel officers or administrators or mothers who talk this way, and when men personnel officers and administrators and stern fathers do, it is usually boys and young men whom they have in mind. But there are a lot of girls and young women in educational institutions now and, anyway, this does not seem a very humane or responsible attitude—and certainly not an educational one—to take toward either male or female students.

Education has to do better than take a hands-off, do-nothing position. It would be the ultimate in inhumanity if we were to concern ourselves only with ensuring the integrity of our classrooms and the safety of property and facilities without any particular regard for the welfare and development of the students themselves.

And yet we should not take a coddling, sheltering attitude toward students either. This would be most inappropriate at a time when young people take

² Most of those who take this position would be willing, I suppose, to provide counseling services for students who wish voluntarily to seek them out and use them.

pride in feeling mature and when the world so needs young people to grow up fast and strong and to learn how to contribute most creatively to maintaining and improving our world.

If, however, the primitive, other-destroying attitude toward life is one we should have outgrown, if the agrarian and machine models are no longer adequate, and if we reject the hands-off position, what courses do we then have?

With the coming of the electronic age, man is beginning to have another totally new view of himself as one who can develop and maintain systems. He is no longer primarily a killer or a tender of plants or of machines. Developing and maintaining systems requires not so much the straight-line thinking that mechanics calls for, as constellational thinking. It does not use the idea of parts geared into other parts, but that of interacting aspects, all changing as they act on other aspects and as they are acted upon.

The concept of "systems" that finds powerful reinforcement in an electronic age provides an exciting new theoretical basis for the idea and practice of community. We can think about community more productively in terms of electronic models than in terms of mechanical forms, relationships, and processes.

And we need to think a great deal about community: what it is, how it develops, what kinds of communities are good for human life, and how community can be assessed, improved, and maintained. We have had too much evidence that when there is little concern for community and society—when educators, for example, take no responsibility for anything but the bits and pieces of the curriculum and the protection of physical property—we can easily fall into a state of anarchy and anomic. Sociologists (Emile Durkheim, Howard Becker, Sr., and Robert Merton, for example) have pointed out that not only is anomic viciously destructive of human personality, but that society swiftly falls apart when anarchy sets in. Meaningful communication becomes impossible; the foundations of society disintegrate, and without solid foundations of shared values and tastes, corporate life ceases to exist.

When we are struggling so hard to build community in the world, how can education disclaim interest and responsibility for the community within which, and to a large extent, by means of which, education must carry on its business? A police approach to the protection of community—"thou shalt not cheat or burn down college property"—is not the way to build community and certainly is not the way to teach students how to build community.

I recognize fully that the dominant note now being sounded—to be sure, by a quite small but determined group—is not a positive one of community but rather one of rebellion and demand for power. This note is picked up *fortissimo* by news media, always on the alert for items that can be dealt with sensationally. By concentrating all its anxieties on the intransigent students and neglecting the great majority, education is failing to make the contribution these times demand.

We are apparently giving strongly reinforced educational experience to those who are learning to form mobs and to grab and manipulate power, when what we need in this world are wise leaders who have creative understanding of

values, of social systems and processes, who are not primarily exploitative, and who know how to develop knowledgeable and altruistic participation by the many. The many must learn much more than most yet know about how to maintain communities favorable to the best of human living and they must learn to care more passionately that the world shall come to have more "good" communities.

The business of building and maintaining communities good for human life and of developing individuals who will know how to do this involves far more than using educational settings as arenas in which to learn how to contend for power. It will not result from ignoring the out-of-class lives of students on the pretense of noninterference. Just how much student ingenuity is going into the invention of spectacular group tactics? One is reminded in this respect of the early Nazi social behavior. Beyond this there is obsession with power: who has it and how can it be blasted out and how more of it can be gained for one's own self or one's own group. Some engaged in these procedures boast that the tactics they are developing will destroy our present social system and that this destruction is an inevitable and to-be-desired end, a necessary prelude to other ends. The other ends—the constructive ends—for which this power is to be used are clearly stated nowhere. It is a queer extension of the Rousseau theory and of the doctrine of original sin that these individuals profess to believe that if only the present wicked Establishment can be destroyed, natural sweetness and light will assert themselves and society will become good.

But it is not to be wondered at that clear statements of goals have not been made. The problems of emerging society are so new and so complex that no one can pretend to have pat solutions. What we need is an emerging population of intelligent young people who are concerned to study and understand these problems in depth, a population deeply concerned for human values, a population concerned with planning new Utopias and equipped with knowledge as well as good intentions.

Where in our educational systems as presently constituted are young people to find leadership in their search to understand the many critical problems of our day? As the great body of sane, concerned young people look around they cannot fail to see and hear the rebels who know how to make themselves conspicuous. They hear their professors urging them to become specialists in some activity that will enable them to fit into and keep our present socioeconomic machine going smoothly. They find little beyond this. To be sure, professors in certain fields engage a comparatively small number of students in the study of urban problems and their solutions. Some history professors and political scientists help students understand intricate problems of government and international relations and the attempts that are being made to solve them. For some students the guaranteed annual wage, problems of taxation, and the implications of the welfare state take on meaning. Some professors of sociology discuss with their students the meaning of community, the causes of crime, and problems that result from different shades of skin color. And some residence hall heads and fraternity leaders work with their members to

study and attempt to improve the community that exists within a residence hall or a fraternity house, for instance.

Some professors of philosophy, religion, ethics and aesthetics engage students in looking critically at the standards and values which control individual and group life, not only in a broad and general sense, but also the standards and values of groups and subgroups of which students are participating members within the school or college — standards and values that students have some chance of changing, and of learning about through so doing.

Far too few students, however, are being given the continuing opportunity which education should present to all of them to use their rational powers to understand life and problems of our day and their own potential responsibilities and opportunities in relation to these problems.

Society, of course, must have engineers, physicians, computer operators, airplane pilots and all the rest. But society must also be able to expect that its most intelligent, best-educated members will know as much as possible about the many new problems that confront our society, that critically affect all of us, and determine the quality of life that will be possible for everyone. Furthermore, the really well-educated should know, by having extensively cultivated this ability, how to analyze social problems in depth and how to work toward solutions.

Neither experts nor small groups can possibly build the kind of communities and sub-communities in which we would all like to live. No small group can undertake to establish and guard our values. This is the responsibility of all, and it needs the best preparation education can give to enable those emerging from our educational institutions to take it on. And so we return to the fact that society needs education to help it deal more effectively with its problems, and to the proposition that education probably cannot and will not do this unless guidance-personnel workers redefine their roles to help this to happen.

But is this such a far cry from the "counseling" and "personnel services" that guidance-personnel work now professes as its responsibility? I do not think so. Psychotherapy, for many, has developed from a one-to-one verbal process to a group process in which individuals share with each other their deepest feelings under the guidance of a "counselor." Furthermore, some counselors instead of practicing group *psychotherapy* are doing *counseling*, which means the exchange among peers not so much of their feelings as of their conscious concerns, thoughts, planning, and information on a rational level. Perhaps further on out, if one thinks of this as a continuum, would come a true conference situation in which groups would share in common and work on problems that are not intimately and emotionally harrowing, but rather call for rational attack and understanding. Elsewhere I have advocated that students and faculty get together in "think tanks" in which the objective would be to learn to define problems (by defining them), to set problem priorities, to develop and share data concerning these problems, to develop possible joint action that might be taken (not so much by the think tank members themselves as by others better qualified to assume responsibility for action) emphasizing alternatives, with recommendations.

CHALLENGES TO GUIDANCE AND PERSONNEL WORK

John Gardner (*New York Times*, July 27, 1968) says that a scholar in the twenty-third century might pass judgment on us thus:

The reformers (of the 20th century) couldn't have been less interested in the basic adaptability of the society. That posed tough and complex tasks of institutional redesign that bored them to death. They preferred the joy of combat, of villain hunting. As for the rest of society it was dozing in front of the television set.

Those trained in techniques of counseling, and especially those who find intellectual processes as interesting as they do emotional processes, should take easily to the idea and processes of think tanks in which students and faculty would work together on the tough and complex tasks of institutional redesign.

Historically, before the idea of individual counseling (psychotherapeutic or otherwise) so possessed us, guidance-personnel workers saw their role as that of working with student life and student group interests and activities in their many forms. This role, which still persists strongly among many guidance-personnel workers (and certainly among almost all who have had their professional training at Teachers College, Columbia University) finds a natural outlet in working with elementary and secondary school students, as well as with college students. I have seen gifted elementary school guidance workers and teachers who were able to sensitize their young students to qualities of human relations and to a critical understanding of the dominant themes and values and patterns that were to be found in their own classrooms and school and playground. I have seen hundreds of instances of high school students with skilled guidance tackling concrete problems within their schools and struggling with the issues of justice, compassion, understanding, salvation, redemption, social evolution, and violence, and the problems and values implicit in human emotion.

Certainly in a graded curriculum of social experience college students should be ready to tackle some of the vast problems that confront and threaten to destroy us as a society. I would urge, however, that even college students should not be encouraged to rush out in hordes to take personal action in matters they may decide are quite unjust — and which may truly be so. What we need even more than we need force and violence brought to bear at the point of injustice is a mighty generation of citizens who will have explored the emerging problems of our civilization as thoroughly as possible, who see how intricately related these problems are, and who will be wise enough and sensitive enough and strong enough to tackle the management of society when the full load falls on their shoulders. Plato in his *Republic* proposed guided study until the age of thirty for those who were eventually to bear the most responsibility for social planning. Something of this sort would seem called for by the extent and complexity of our modern social problems, and it would be unfortunate if those who had taken the time and effort to understand our emerging problems more fully were to have their efforts negated by younger ones who have less understanding but more uncontrolled energy and a greater need to

vent in instant and violent rebellion their righteous indignation over specific issues of greater and lesser importance.

Guidance-personnel workers should be encouraging faculty and students to assess together the quality of their corporate life; should see to it that they are learning how to analyze it; should study the patterns that develop and why these patterns form as they do, and should look at the values implicit in various groups and decide whether these values enhance or demean the quality of life permitted to the members of the groups, and to those who are not in a given group.

If guidance-personnel workers are to concern themselves with these dimensions of campus living and of education they will need to abandon the mechanical factory view and see educational institutions and processes in terms of new systems theory and organic processes.

All of this, I believe, needs to be done. It is a very large challenge that confronts guidance-personnel work. To tackle it with any degree of success will require that guidance-personnel workers acquire some new knowledge and some new skills. It is the sort of task that will require continuous learning by students and faculty members in a large cooperative undertaking. In my view society desperately needs this kind of contribution from education, and guidance-personnel workers have no other choice than to take up the challenge that it represents.

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Autobiography

ADVENTURE — occupational adventure — is not commonly associated these days with the preparation of counselors. Not to have become established in one's career until after age thirty-five is not usually considered desirable in the guidance business. Yet this contributor can attest that an exceptionally drawn-out period of what we call "exploration" — embracing at least ten different types of occupation up and down the scale from apprentice carpenter to professor — does contribute certain elements to the profession of counseling.

Among its contributions — in addition to the obvious range of experience gained — are a sensitivity to, and appreciation of, the deep uncertainties felt by the young seeker after a suitable role in life. Then, too, variety in one's occupational experience demands flexibility in meeting and surmounting varying conditions; there is openness to change and willingness to seek further experience and, finally, a ready acceptance of people and circumstances.

After a protected childhood whose high point was a trip to Scotland (the native land of my parents), a fairly good schooling, and a lot of happy playing of pick-up games among neighborhood kids, I went on to high school in the Connecticut city where I grew up, graduating at a relatively early age. I then went to work in a series of clerkships in business and industrial establishments. At one point, feeling the confinement of indoor work, I became a carpenter's apprentice, but after about a year of this I fell off a roof one day into a pile of sand. Although unhurt, I had had enough of the building business and became a clerk again.

In 1918 I enrolled in the Students' Army Training Corps and, at the end of the war, continued on at the same institution — now the University of Connecticut — for a bachelor's degree in science (1922). Having been president of the student organization and editor-in-chief of the college weekly, I was offered the newly

created job of alumni secretary and assistant to the college editor—a pleasant and instructive occupation for a couple of years following college graduation.

About that time the U.S. Foreign Service was undergoing a reorganization and was much in the news. A combined urge to "see the world" and to continue to seek the still elusive "life job" prevailed, so I accepted a preferred post in the U.S. Consulate General at Stockholm.

We now enter into a period of crucial decision. Was the Foreign Service—marvelous as it was for a young unmarried male in a fine European capital—to be the final choice and the end of the occupational road?

Just at this time I became eligible for a home leave, during which I returned to Connecticut and married my college sweetheart, Margaret Hall. When an invitation then came to return to Europe as an attaché of the U.S. legation in the capital of another Scandinavian country, the offer, though attractive, was declined. But times were rather bleak then, and it was some months before an editorial job on a magazine opened up—to be lost a couple of years later at the onset of the Depression.

During my editorship, however, I had begun to study psychology in graduate courses, given by such men as Woodworth and Murphy, at Columbia University. Following the subsequent loss of my job, I took the "opportunity" to continue graduate work and to finish the master's thesis. Meanwhile, I had become interested in counseling, had observed and studied the operation of the counseling center for the unemployed in New York City, and concluded that here was a profession worth following.

Meanwhile, children had come into our lives—two girls and a boy. While they were growing up there were many family outings—skiing and skating in the winter; sailing, swimming and camping in the summer. Continuing my professional education and holding a job while raising a family was a problem.

Having obtained a master's degree in psychology (1932), with additional courses in guidance, neurology, and clinical psychology, I decided to open a counseling center for unemployed and others—first in the YMCA, later in the school system of Norwalk, Connecticut, the city of about 35,000 where we lived. As the Depression continued and deepened it became necessary, in addition to the provision of counseling, to try to organize vocational training centers for unemployed.

It seemed quite natural in a Depression to attempt to find out what kinds of jobs might actually be available for people, both male and female. My work having been noticed by interested parties in the capital city of the state, I was invited to organize and conduct for the state employment service and the social agencies of the city of Hartford, a vocational survey of Hartford. This project took several months to complete and, at its termination, I received several job offers, among which two stood out: one in the head office of the Connecticut State Employment Service, and the other the chief supervisorship of federally supported education programs in the state department of education.

Both of these commitments would have involved opportunities to develop guidance programs, but the latter seemed to embrace a much wider scope of activity with longer-range possibilities. Thus I made the all-important decision to return to a field—education—that I was already familiar with on the local level, and to confront the challenge of planning, instigating, and supervising

programs of education, including guidance, on the youth and adult level throughout the entire state.

For ten years, from 1935 to 1945, I remained in state education in Connecticut and enjoyed an unusually wide span of experience that included supervision, research, program planning and organization, secretaryship of the State Youth Council, and the preparation of bulletins on a wide range of educational subjects, including work experience for school youth, problems of youth, organization of community centers and programs, and others. During this period I continued my graduate study and received the doctorate from Yale University in 1940.

It would be difficult to select a period of our history more significant and exciting for education and guidance than the one that began with the great Depression in 1929, and embraced World War II and the reentry of veterans into civilian life, with the aid of organized counseling centers throughout the country.

Before the end of the war, I had been invited by Harvard University to teach courses in vocational psychology and counseling for selected soldiers and in counseling for Radcliffe seniors. Retaining my post at the state education department in Connecticut, I took leaves of absence for these contributions to the war effort. In 1945, upon the cessation of hostilities and the immediate organization of veterans' counseling centers throughout the country, I was invited by Harvard and five other associated Boston universities to organize a veterans' counseling center at Harvard and to direct its operations. At the same time, the Harvard Graduate School of Education chose to revive and reorganize its program of graduate offerings in counseling and guidance, which had lapsed somewhat after the retirement of John Brewer. I was thus offered the dual job of organizing and directing the Veterans' Guidance Center at Harvard and, at the same time, reorganizing and teaching in the counseling and guidance program of graduate instruction as an associate professor of education.

The joint assignment was a grueling but exciting one. In the four years from 1945 to the latter part of 1949, more than 15,000 persons were counseled at the Guidance Center, and a completely new program of counselor preparation was established and conducted at the graduate school of the Harvard School of Education.

As the number of veterans seeking help declined, counselors at the relatively large Harvard Guidance Center naturally began to seek other jobs. The fact that they ultimately occupied with great success such positions as that of college president, college professor, secretary of a national professional association, counselor, clinical psychologist and researcher is indicative of their outstanding quality.

I left the Center in 1949 and after a brief interval joined a statewide study of education being conducted by the state of Connecticut. Later that year I received two job offers — one at a well-known Connecticut college, the other from the teacher education program of the combined city colleges of New York, where I was tendered a full professorship and the task of organizing a new program of counselor training. Accepting the challenge of the latter opportunity, I took the first six months of 1950 to organize a graduate program of counselor preparation in each of the four city colleges of New York — City, Hunter, Brooklyn, and Queens — institutions that later formed the central core of the City Uni-

versity of New York. From fewer than 100 students in 1950, the new program in counselor preparation grew to almost 2400 in the academic year of 1966-67, of which 500 were degree or certificate matriculants, 400 summer session students and the remainder enrollees in guidance courses and special programs.

Toward the close of my tenure at Harvard, I had prepared a book about guidance entitled *Guidance Policy and Practice*, which was published by Harper & Brothers in 1949. A second edition, completely rewritten, appeared in 1955, and a new third edition in 1962. These volumes have been widely used in the expanding graduate courses of counselor preparation in colleges and universities throughout the country. In 1957, before leaving to assume a Fulbright lectureship at the University of Amsterdam for the academic year 1957-1958, I made a study of the feasibility of education for individual and social development, which resulted in a volume published by Harper & Brothers under the title *A Strategy for American Education*.

Now, at the close of my career, I must regard these four books as my main professional contribution, followed closely by the organization and development of two well-known programs of counselor preparation.

Prominent in the life of any professor must undoubtedly be the opportunities to lecture and teach in various universities in his own country and, if he is doubly fortunate, at institutions abroad. Among the domestic and foreign institutions which this retiree particularly remembers — in addition, of course, to Harvard and the City University of New York — are Ohio State University, Ohio University, Columbia University Teachers College, the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Hawaii, the University of Illinois, the University of Amsterdam in Holland, and the Universities of Leeds, Manchester, Keele, Oxford, and Reading in England.

Even more important than professional relationships developed through writing and teaching must be the more intimate personal associations with fellow staff members and outstanding students, with whom communication becomes particularly significant. If any continuing contribution stems from the work and the career reported here, it will doubtless come through what my students do and say, and perhaps more especially what they are, in their daily associations with their own students and professional colleagues.

The Status and Prospects of Guidance

Robert Mathewson notes a shift in our psychological concepts of man. He believes that our thinking now takes into account that man has more control over his environment and that he should be free to make his own choices and decisions, thus prescribing the maximizing of human potential as a basic purpose of education and guidance.

Mathewson talks about and to individuals in three areas: 1) academic motivation, 2) social and behavioral adjustment, and 3) educational-vocational orientation. The counselor, who is certainly under a great deal of

pressure to work with "problem" youngsters, must attempt to devote more and more time to developmental guidance for all children while continuing adjustive guidance with those requiring his services. The developmental form of guidance views the pupil as a learner and the counselor as an educator who provides a special form of learning experience.

UNTIL 1950 or so, the central consideration in guidance was the suitability and feasibility of an individual's educational-vocational decisions as professionally judged at points of choice. His educational programs or curricula were expected to be contributive (more or less) to his ultimate vocational commitment.

Since 1950, the development of the individual's ability to make his own choices and to direct his own affairs has become an overriding concern; recurrent needs and problems are seen as opportunities to foster individual capacity for self-determination.

While the individual's right and need to make his own judgments in his own behalf has been increasingly acknowledged, it has also been realized that he requires education of a special kind to learn to make these independent judgments with increasing sagacity. This shift in guidance philosophy has roughly paralleled a change in national outlook from an orientation to Economic Man to an increasing emphasis on the Individual as Person.

PROFESSIONAL CONDITIONS AND OUTLOOK

In attempting an assessment of prospects in guidance and counseling, we have to consider the context of conditions in school and society, and are compelled to conclude that in a number of respects the national outlook in education has faded considerably.

It is true that there has been more than token financing of schools and colleges on a national scale; great schemes and programs have been proposed and some initiated; revised curricula have been introduced in some urban areas, and a new sensitivity has arisen among the American people to the problems and needs of education.

But in spite of the fact that new vistas for our educational system seem to have opened, deeply serious negative conditions are now apparent.

Paul Tillich, more than any other contemporary philosopher, has emphasized the simultaneity, in the midst of great events, of opposite polarities—those potentialities making for advance and those pulling toward stagnation, retrogression, or failure.

And so, in education, along with some favorable prospects, there are some very great problems—problems of effective planning and implementation of extensive programs while supporting huge expenditures in war and welfare; gigantic difficulties of revolutionizing elementary as well as other forms of education for immense urban populations that today are not acquiring ele-

mentary skills or even being engaged effectively in class work, and unrest among factions of youth at both ends of the academic and financial scale.

All this has been accompanied by resistance to change in society and within the educational system itself. Together with obvious shortages of money, we have problems of functional control at different levels of our educational system; shortages of personnel, and conflicts of professional interest.

A few people—and some educators may be among them—may believe that only a tremendous sea change in American education can bring about an effective response to today's needs and conditions soon enough.

Possibly the greatest hazard we face is that in our preoccupation with a myriad of separate programs and projects, we may fail to accomplish a truly innovative, cohesive response to the great challenges of our time.

Nevertheless, American education and all its constituent features now face extraordinary demands and possibilities. Our concern for education seems to be directed toward social development on a broad scale. It is not too much to say that the keynote of our system of education now is the maximization of human potentiality in the total range of the population. All in all, this presents a prospect of the utmost significance for guidance.

PROSPECTS IN GUIDANCE

As we survey the present scene in guidance, we must acknowledge a rather scrambled set of conditions. Our differences in professional outlook and practice are all too apparent.

However, there will be general agreement that we now possess something we lacked ten years ago—*national recognition and support*. This is reflected, among other ways, in national financing of institutes of counselor education, in subsidy of research and experimentation, and in the support of special guidance program operations in the field. Our task now seems to be to develop comparable understanding and support among state and local boards of education, school administrators and teaching staffs.

Perhaps our greatest strides in the past decade have been in the realm of *professionalization*, the upgrading of standards of counselor preparation and certification. Now we must ask: What should be the content of these *extended training programs*? And, above all, how can we achieve a more effective correspondence between the ways counselors are prepared and what they need to do in the field?

The most significant phenomenon of the past decade or two has been the *great broadening of the demand upon guidance as a process*. Guidance is now expected to provide professional aid to individuals in three areas: 1) academic motivation, progress and achievement, 2) social and behavioral adjustment and development, and 3) educational-vocational orientation. Out of this tremendous broadening of our scope emerges what is perhaps our greatest problem: that of *professional focus and identity* within reasonable and feasible operational limits.

FIVE MAJOR FUNCTIONS OF GUIDANCE

One way of looking at this central problem of scope and focus is to consider the major functions which are generally involved in guidance. We may identify five:

- The Appraisal, or data-centered function.
- The Adjustment, or problem-centered function.
- The Orientation, or direction-centered function.
- The Development, or learning-centered function.
- The Coordination and Consultation, or program-centered function.

The instant we recognize such functions, and the very real, insistent, and persistent demands that each is designed to meet, we appreciate with renewed force the professional stresses and conflicts that occur in actual daily operations when we try to meet manifest and manifold needs.

Take just one example. In the programs of elementary guidance that have grown up over the past fifteen years, the greatest conflict has been between *demands upon* elementary counselors by administrators, teachers, and parents to perform adjustive problem-centered services for a minority of pupils at problem points, and the *professional motivation* of counselors to do at least as much for the majority of children who need guidance but may never get referred.

Moreover, because our underlying psychological theory is not as clearly defined as it might be, elementary counselors (and others) are continually being requested to "adjust" individual problems that are deep-seated, have been long in the making, and require extended reconditioning. In such cases, counselors are all too frequently expected to perform miraculous transformations of behavior in a fifteen- or twenty-minute interview!

In this single illustration, we may detect several of the predicaments that beset us today, involving contrasts and conflicts:

- Between public expectation and professional motivation.
- Between the overt problems of a minority and the covert needs of a majority.
- Between general guidance practice and specialized supplementary practices.
- Between individual personal needs and collective social requirements.
- Between professional theory and actual field operations.

Can professional dilemmas be resolved? Some professional commentators believe that what is mainly needed is a comprehensive theory which will resolve our central problems of professional focus and identity. Others would settle the issue of professional aim and role on the basis of the actual operational demands — on counselors from day to day — calling on as many specialists as may be necessary to meet the separate forms of demand. Some would give current sociocultural needs very high priority. Still others might sing the old refrain: "We need more research."

POSSIBLE INDICATIONS OF DIRECTION

Risky as it is, I should like to indicate briefly a few contemporary phases of guidance practice that may indicate possible emerging directions.

The first of these sub-trends has been our manifest interest over the past few years in *ego psychology and the psychology of personal and interpersonal dynamics*, in contrast to our classic historical preoccupation with static forms of trait psychology.

Paradoxically, the whole question of scope in guidance might be at least partially resolved not by focusing on a single external operational area, such as educational guidance, or even a single function, such as appraisal, but by concentrating instead upon an internal, phenomenological point—the perceptive, conscious, mediative power of the individual to understand and deal more effectively with self and with self-societal relations.¹

If guidance becomes focused upon the psychological capability of the individual for personal-social awareness and effectiveness, the problem of scope may be considerably lessened. For, in the midst of external demands and problems, there could be a sharp focus at the center of all of them upon the maturing capability of the individual to direct the self in a variety of circumstances.

A second possible ultimate direction in guidance is indicated by the rapidly growing *development of elementary guidance* throughout the country, with its concomitant interest in identifying incipient problems before they become irremediable. Elementary counselors are almost forced by the nature of the demands upon them to spend much more time now consulting with parents, engaging in parent education, working with teachers on guidance experiences in the classroom, and following individual developmental progress from year to year. Emphasis might thus shift from diagnostic and adjustive types of guidance to a developmental form, supplemented by evaluative, orientational and consultative functions.

A third tendency with which we are all familiar is the *emergence of modern forms of group work* in which the group medium is used as a psychological gymnasium for the exercise of individual perceptions—their clarification, situational connections, integration and ultimate value orientation. By correlating group work and individual communication across a span of grades, we may establish a combined form of orientational and developmental guidance that may constitute one of the main strategic motifs in coming years.

A fourth tendency began with the Higher Horizons program in New York City some years ago. We might call this process *motivational-cognitive stimulation and encouragement on a broad scale among underprivileged groups*. This approach is being incorporated in national programs under one label or another.

¹ This conception has been expressed in various ways: "growing capability for purposive behavior" (Tiedeman), "enabling a person to deal with his own unique world of possibilities" (Tyler), "formation of a self-concept" (Super and others), and "increasing the individual's ability to direct the self in relation to situational requirements and demands" (Mathewson).

We may rediscover in these group projects a wide variety of individual need for directed motivation, academic upgrading, learning how to cope with problems, educational-vocational reorientation, interest development, and acquisition of self-confidence and social effectiveness. All functions of guidance will probably have to be brought into play, and the general utility counselor with effective personal attributes—together with supplementary specialists and clinicians—will be the most valuable adjunct of such programs.

PROBLEMS ACCOMPANYING TRENDS

Such emerging trends carry with them tremendous psychological, philosophical, and operational problems.

Can we influence individuals to mature in crucial ways without imposing overly restrictive personal and cultural standards?

If individuals are to be helped toward personal relatedness to sociocultural values and realities, upon what ultimate values will individuals attempt to orient their personal integrations?

In the trends that are emerging, what will be our underlying psychological theory?

And what will be the organizational structure and procedures of guidance in relation to general strategy?

We won't expect individuals to find their own directions automatically through purely permissive forms of counseling. Instead we shall employ educative (not impositional) processes aimed at fostering, on a developmentally graduated scale, the capabilities of the individual for self-direction. In this attempt, counselors and teachers may themselves be actuated by broadly based, consensual, sociocultural values while avoiding personal and class value models. Our underlying theory may very well be an evolving psychosocial one, incorporating conceptions from field theory, psychology of the unconscious, trait theory, motivational and cognitive theory and ego psychology, together with key constructs from sociology, anthropology, and philosophy.

The organizational structure of the school will be based on sub-groups of workable size, educated and guided through a coordinated team process, with teachers, counselors, and parents closely collaborating during serial time spans of several years' duration.

Major educational-vocational decision points may be postponed to the junior college years for many individuals, and guidance services will be extended into community centers serving youth and adults. Counselor preparation will have to be increasingly decentralized, with universities retaining those modes of training especially appropriate for this type of instruction. Multi-tiered and multi-moded schemes of counselor preparation, jointly operated by university, school, and community, will become more common.

CONVERGENCE UPON A DEVELOPMENTAL MODE OF GUIDANCE?

These and other operational tendencies point to a form of guidance in the schools that may tend more and more toward becoming an *educative endeavor*,

within which various forms of service (problem) guidance and specialized (extended diagnosis and treatment) guidance can be accommodated in addition to the basic educative mode.

In these educative forms of guidance, the guidee will be looked upon as a learner and the counselor as an educator who provides — or helps to provide — special forms of learning experience, who aids the learner to interpret and evaluate his experiences and his approaches to experiences, and who accompanies the learner as he shapes his autobiographical pattern among many subject matters, over many years of schooling, and through many types of personal and social experience.

In such a guidance strategy, individuals will still need special help at problem- and choice-points, but such "service" experiences may also be used to further the maturation of the individual as he goes along.

Thus a long series of events and conditions, planned and unplanned, may be employed to foster self-directive capabilities. The individual may thus be seen as being assisted, not only at problem- and decision-points, but also through many continuing personal experiences within a much wider, and longer, educational and maturational context. The individual may move from dim initial self-awareness through advancing stages of differentiation, individuation, social relationship, and value orientation toward greater personal integration and clearer direction.

Instead of a trend such as that just outlined toward the orientational and developmental side of the scale, the outcome may involve emphasis on specialized service functions of the appraisal, adjustive, and advisory type, within a sharply restricted area of educational guidance, and only for those who ask for it (in one way or another). This would focus professional responsibility upon the academic problems of a minority of students while neglecting the highly important guidance needs of the majority.

But in view of the central position of the school today — continually influencing all children and youth over a period of years, and charged with conducting a broadening range of functions and services — it seems likely that the guidance function will expand rather than diminish.

Out of current conditions may emerge a comprehensive strategy that combines the adjustive and advisory-service type of practice with the orientational and developmental-educative form of practice, focusing upon guidance for personal capability to understand and deal more effectively with self-social relations in an ever-changing context.

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL

Though educative forms of guidance may multiply widely, the school cannot presume to be the sole, or even the foremost, institution in the fostering of personal-social development in comparison with the family, the community, and the church. But within its limits, the school has a very important responsibility distinct from that rendered by any other social institution. If the individual himself is to be the chief architect of his personality and life pattern, the school must be concerned particularly with how the developing

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THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL

Though educative forms of guidance may multiply widely, the school can not presume to be the sole, or even the foremost, institution in the fostering of personal-social development in comparison with the family, the community, and the church. But within its limits, the school has a very important responsibility distinct from that rendered by any other social institution. If the individual himself is to be the chief architect of his personality and life pattern, the school must be concerned particularly with how the developing

self is learning to form a self-identity, to relate to social responsibilities and opportunities, and to take into account values beyond class and culture.

With the increase in social interdependence and the complexities of modern living, schools will have to seek feasible ways of improving personal-social developmental processes. But the difficulties of such a form of education on the part of the school cannot be minimized. Three of the more significant problems may be mentioned: 1) indifference of some schools and their personnel to the need, 2) inept conduct of the process by untrained, poorly trained, or overworked people, and 3) employment of ineffective methods and techniques.

Among possible means of modifying these conditions may be controlled experimentation in selected schools and centers, an initial limitation to procedures already proven useful — for example, group work, use of introductory group guidance with small groups having manifest common problems, concentration on needs and interests manifested by students themselves, and programing of short-term group sessions running for a limited number of weeks only instead of the whole school year.

As processes improve and personnel attain greater mastery in their use as well as growing motivation to employ them, there should occur increasing acceptance and employment of innovative programs and procedures — a phenomenon often witnessed in American education. The opinion may be hazarded that backwardness in applying advanced guidance practices in at least some schools is due more to administrative judgments and to the unending press of referred "problems" than to professional preferences.

SOME ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

The continuing movement of the individual toward growing personal-social maturity may be expressed through two main types of personal behavior:

Socially responsible and contributive action.

Self-directive and self-corrective conduct.

In so behaving, the individual may progressively come to make considered judgments on his own actions. In the course of his progress, there may arise for the individual serious and deep differences of opinion with friends, family members, mentors, and others. Both his value judgments and theirs may have an arguable basis. The young individual's value judgments may be more idealistic (or, in some cases, nihilistic!). They may be based on a superior level of education and social outlook and yet, at the same time, reflect lack of experience and maturity or social responsibility. On the other hand, the general adult of consensus may represent more practicality and breadth of experience but may also conceal economic, political, and other considerations which are, or may become, outmoded. Passage of time may be needed to evaluate the "rightness" or "wrongness" of such polarized opinions.

SCHOOL REQUIRES A FRAMEWORK OF VALUE

Rapid change in modern technological society, and the accompanying transvaluation of values, has led to belief in a pluralism of values and to a breakdown of traditional values in favor of the idea that "anything goes."

It is not possible, however, for education and guidance to operate as social agents, as well as social generators, without some framework of value. We can avoid overly rigid and restrictive frameworks by conceiving of education and guidance as media for fostering the development of *valuing persons* who, within a context of social and moral experience, learn to serve what is socially contributive and constructive. Thus counselors will seek neither to dictate the individual's values nor to specify personal goals but rather to engender motivation toward self-valuation, self-actualization and social contribution, and to provide the conditions for the development of self-directive capability within an overall social-moral framework.

The never fully surmountable difficulty of combining 1) an intention to encourage the greatest possible amount of freedom of judgment for counselees and students with 2) responsibility for supporting and helping the student at points of serious personal difficulty; or keeping him from serious social infringement, may be lessened as developmental programs become more common.

In any case, the American school, and especially its guidance phase, must continue to foster, through daily observance, fundamental social and moral values such as honesty, social cooperation and contribution, personal responsibility, care of personal health and hygiene, and common courtesy.

IN CONCLUSION

The development of genuine individuality, personal maturity, and social responsibility, so prized in a democracy and essential for its continued existence, cannot just happen in *laissez-faire* fashion. It requires a special kind of education, together with maturational modes of experience in school and community. This kind of education combines a personal orientation with a social valence. And because of this dual relationship to both individual and society, what we now call guidance will remain in the permanent dilemma which is its burden and its greatness.

Selected Writings of Robert H. Mathewson

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CARROLL H. MILLER

*Professor of Education, Northern Illinois University**Autobiography*

I come from pioneer stock. Both of my parents as children migrated with their families to Nebraska a few years after it became a state, my mother from Illinois and my father from Wisconsin. I was the youngest of seven children and by the time I came upon the scene the family had moved from a farm to Columbus, Nebraska. As a boy growing up in a small town setting I was fortunate enough to enjoy some of the traditional experiences of boys in semi-rural situations: fishing, camping, trapping muskrats, and in general participating in outdoor sports. Among my most persistent recollections of childhood are catching a glimpse of "Buffalo Bill" as he rode in the parade of his own circus, going down to the train when the local company left for World War I, and a visit made with my mother to an older sister living in east Texas. This last was perhaps my first contact with a subculture other than my own.

In high school I dutifully took the courses which a college-bound student was expected to take, including four years of Latin, four of English, and the traditional two years of mathematics. I have no regrets about these. My Waterloo occurred in the few skilled subjects into which I ventured, particularly typing — and I still type badly. The relatively small high school offered many opportunities for participation in activities, into which I entered with enthusiasm. After school and on Saturdays I worked part-time in a photographic studio and acquired an interest which is still a hobby for me.

My undergraduate days at Nebraska Wesleyan again found me in a small and relatively uncomplicated social setting. But the intellectual climate was stimulating. In those days — at least in small institutions — professors actually taught undergraduates, and the result was rewarding. Although there were the usual undergraduate gripes and escapades, it somehow never occurred to us to distrust everyone over thirty, or to organize demonstrations demanding more student control of the university.

Within my major, psychology, the fare offered was somewhat limited, by contemporary standards. One could choose among Freudianism, Gestalt psychology, Watsonian behaviorism, a rather shadowy structuralism, an equally nebulous functionalism, and the kind of hormic psychology advocated by William McDougall. The latter constituted something of a party line in the instruction I received, but honest efforts were made to present other views. I became a behaviorist. Looking back, however, I suspect that I adopted this stance less of intellectual conviction than as a gesture of revolt. I am not quite sure what my revolt was directed against, unless it was the enthusiasm with which William McDougall was presented. Moreover, Watson seemed to offer an escape from vexing problems verging on the philosophical by the simple process of denying or ignoring them. Then, too, physiological psychology was big in those days, and the pyramidal tracts and areas of the cortex seemed both concrete and compatible with the ideas of Watson, while hormic urges seemed pretty vague.

My interest in one aspect of guidance was first aroused more or less by accident, while working toward the master's degree at the University of South Dakota. In one class I was assigned to make a report on Clark Hull's *Aptitude Testing*, and what began as a routine assignment became intriguing. I am afraid that my first tentatively formed concept of guidance was of directing people toward what seemed good for them, largely by psychometric methods. Fortunately, my major professor provided a counterbalance. His own interests were at least as much in philosophy as in psychology. He was impressed with Gestalt psychology and, in more general terms, in the kinds of holism espoused by Jan Christian Smuts. My faith in atomism began to waver.

Before my work on the master's degree was completed it became necessary to take a high school teaching position for financial reasons, and I completed the degree in summer school. The stock market crash had occurred, and the conditions symbolized by the crash affected most people in one way or another. I served in a small school in South Dakota during six of the drought and dirt storm years of the early and middle thirties. Somewhat to my surprise, I found that I really enjoyed teaching in spite of the rugged economic conditions of the community and the limited social and cultural setting. At least the pheasant hunting was wonderful! During this time I made my first attempts at teaching classes in occupations at the 9th-grade level. The only two texts available were by Harry D. Kitson and William C. Proctor, and these names at the time represented practically my entire acquaintance with guidance literature.

Without realizing it, I had probably made a commitment to education rather than to psychology as such. Nevertheless, when an opportunity came to attend the State University of Iowa for a year I enrolled in the standard program of comparative psychology, history of psychology, systematic psychology, and mental health (abnormal psychology). But by all means the most rewarding experience was a class in Theory of Personality taught by Kurt Lewin, who had come to the Child Welfare Station at the University. This was before Lewin had turned his attention to group dynamics; he was then concerned with the application of topological concepts to psychology. My behavioristic assumptions were violently shaken, and a whole new conceptual framework presented itself to me — faster, in fact, than I could assimilate it.

There followed a return to South Dakota for another three years of high school teaching, and then four years in Kansas as a teacher and small school principal.

In December of the first year in Kansas came Pearl Harbor, but the officers at the induction center in Denver decided that they could have a better Army without me. With my return to the job of high school principal came a period of temporizing. I moved to a position as personnel technician in the Kansas State Civil Service. The work consisted largely of the construction of employment tests for the Service, and in this I worked closely with the job analysis section. The work was interesting, but after a year and two summers I left for an assistant professorship at Wittenberg College (now University) with the understanding that I would have summers free to continue work toward the doctorate. My duties at Wittenberg consisted of part-time teaching and assisting in the Veterans Advisement Center. It was here that I encountered the small book by Carl Rogers, *Counseling with Returned Servicemen*, and Donald Super's *The Dynamics of Vocational Adjustment*. When I left Wittenberg at the end of two years, things were beginning to fall into place.

In 1948 I went to Colorado A & M College (now Colorado State University), where I remained for a little over ten years, eight of which I spent as head of the Department of Psychology and Education. Toward the end of this time I became assistant dean of science and arts, with the principal duty of developing four broad-field (interdepartmental) majors, and devising a faculty advising system for students in these majors. At first counseling consisted largely of taking referrals from the faculty advisers, but as time went on self-referrals became the greater part of the load. It was while at Colorado that I began experimenting with teaching a course in foundations of guidance and, since I could find no text for the course, I undertook the writing of one.

In 1959 came an opportunity to go to the U.S. Office of Education as a "Specialist, Preparation of Personnel Workers." Actually, the work centered around counseling, with only incidental attention to other pupil personnel services. The experience at the office was interesting, and rewarding in a number of ways, but government was not for me. In 1962 I came to my present position as professor of education at Northern Illinois University. There seems to be something to this business of the self-concept after all; once crystallized, it is difficult to escape it. I tried twice to leave teaching, but I came back.

PROBABLY FEW PERSONS, as long as they remain actively engaged in their fields, ever feel they have reached complete closure of their attitudes and beliefs. About all that seems possible is to examine current thinking, to tease out some of the more conspicuous strands, and then to describe them. Taken together, these strands of thought may afford some basis for a more general statement. This is the purpose of this paper. Debts to others will be evident on every page, but this discussion is not intended to be a documented review and analysis of literature. Rather, it is a personalized statement of present outlook.

I shall begin with a concept of the individual, since I feel that this is my most stabilized notion, then move on to the more fluid area of social intervention as a function of guidance, and finally deal briefly with a few very open philosophical problems.

THE INDIVIDUAL

On the thesis that one of the most basic distinguishing characteristics of guidance (and especially counseling) is concern for the individual as an individual, the first matter demanding clarification is a concept of the individual. Very simply, what is an individual? One possible answer is that he is a unique, developing, historical, dynamic system.

No two individuals are ever exactly alike if in our comparison we include the factor of experience. Even anatomically indistinguishable identical twins cannot have identical experiences, for each includes the other in his life space. As they grow older, their social contacts and hence their experiences will increasingly diverge. But it does not serve our present purpose to belabor the question of the relative importance of genetic and experiential factors in human variation and similarity. The point of view here adopted is simply that each individual is unique in that as a result of the interaction of genetically determined characteristics with the differing characteristics of the environment as individuals perceive and experience them, each person becomes an individual not quite like anyone else.

Second, the individual is a developing person. In this context, *development* is not to be taken as a synonym for *change*, for the latter term may connote for some only a kind of random, atomistic activity. Development is patterned change; it is change that is going somewhere. Where it goes is not conceived as a goal at which the person arrives by blind fate, nor a predestined goal determined by the will of the gods. Quite the contrary. I am thinking of the end toward which the individual moves as continuously emerging from the pattern of his own development. The end is not inherently "good" or "bad"; we have long since abandoned the Spencerian notion of beneficent evolution which automatically carries us onward and upward. The pattern of a particular individual's development reflects his own individual integrity, operating first on the organismic level (as in homeostasis), and later at functional levels of personality dynamics. As suggested earlier, there are genetic factors which set limits and facilitate development in certain basic directions. But the

development of concepts, values, attitudes, and other higher-level functions also reflects the strivings of the individual to retain his integrity. He may be only vaguely aware of the developmental end toward which his patterning is moving him, but to the extent that he can perceive himself and his psychological environment, he will accept and strive toward goals which he perceives as consonant with his own integrity. Much of this higher-level goal formation reflects the learnings acquired in interaction with the subculture or subcultures in which he participates.

In his development the individual proceeds through historical sequences of his own. His biography at any point in his life includes his experiences of the events and the cultural climate of his time and setting, and also his idiosyncratic perceptions of his own unique experiences. He is always more than a distillation of the events occurring during the period in which he lives, such as an objective historian might describe. His history is a record of personal experiences. Since one can never completely predict future events upon the basis of history, the development of the individual is to a considerable extent unpredictable. Scattered along the path of his development occur historical accidents of time and circumstance which sometimes constitute major events in his own history. He may, for example, be thrown into contact with a person or persons who have far-reaching influence upon him, or he may find open to him an unexpected opportunity arising from a particular combination of circumstances. Such events become part of his history, and if he develops significant involvements, he may be left a changed person. The end toward which his developmental pattern moves him may become clarified for him to the extent that he comes to understand the relationship of such historical accidents to his own development.

Finally, the individual is a dynamic system. This has already been suggested by the introduction of the idea that the individual has an integrity of his own. While I have no desire to deny the importance of past experiences, I find it more satisfying to place major emphasis upon the dynamics of the contemporary situation. At any given time in the behavior of the individual, time is telescoped. The past is operative in that his own history has left him a changed person. The past may also be actively involved in the contemporary situation in that memories and previously formed concepts, attitudes, values, and stereotypes may be very much alive. But the future may also be functional in the present through goals toward which the individual is striving, even though he may be only incompletely aware of them. The individual has needs which have arisen from past experience, but which may also be projected upon future goals. Time is not the basic dimension. Rather, the important thing is the unique configuration of influences relevant in the psychological situation which one seeks to understand — the life space, if you will. For this sort of approach to dynamics I find a type of field theory most helpful.

On the basis of the view of the individual just described, several tentative implications seem to emerge. First, guidance efforts toward understanding and assisting the individual need to be made on a long time, continuing basis. A "one-shot" advisement can scarcely prove adequate to the needs of the

developing person, and at worst may be a distorting and harmful experience. Second, efforts to understand the individual and to help him understand himself need to be broadly oriented. Their purpose is to help him achieve understandings of himself in relation to his total situation, including his relations with others, his own developmental history, his present outlooks and aspirations, and his acceptance or rejection of the values of the subculture or subcultures in which he participates. Third, guidance efforts are most appropriately directed toward assisting with relatively short-range developmental tasks. This is not an argument for "crisis" counseling, but only a plea for minimizing ambitious efforts toward prophesying the long-range future life of the individual. Let the predictions which are necessary, such as those involving educational placement, be modest and for limited purposes.

GUIDANCE AS SOCIAL INTERVENTION

There appear to be two starting points from which one may consider the matter of social intervention as a guidance function; one may begin with the needs and rights of the individual, or with those of society. Some discussions of guidance and manpower seem to reflect an acceptance of society's needs as the proper base of departure. But the predominant theme in guidance literature seems to be a desire to begin with the individual. This is in harmony with our democratic tradition, but it does not solve the problem of how far one should go in the direction of meeting the needs of society, as distinct from the needs of the individual. It is all very well to assert that the primary loyalty of the counselor is to the counsellee, but even such single-minded devotion, however admirable, encounters ethical difficulties in the gray areas, and requires various qualifications according to the maturity of the counsellee, the legitimate claims of society to maintain itself, and so on. Moreover, many counselors would agree that they cannot in fact completely detach themselves from their own society and culture; they have values of their own which, whether they will it or not, may intrude upon the counseling relationship. There is always a built-in ambivalence for the counselor.

But there are also ambivalences within society itself. We are living in a time when our society provides relatively few ready-made major commitments for its members. There have been times when this was not so. In western Europe, for example, the Middle Ages might be pictured as having found a predominant theme in faith, and in the time of the Renaissance there was (at least for some) a joyous rebirth of appreciation of man himself. In our own country at the time of the Revolution, the major cause was the political rights of man. Later, there were the forces of dawning national consciousness, westward expansion, with its egalitarian overtones, the struggle for free public schools, and other highly visible causes inviting commitment. In our time the difficulty is not so much the lack of causes as their very multiplicity. One must choose among such varied causes as academic freedom, civil rights, reaching the moon before the Russians, engaging in a kind of altruistic tourism with the Peace Corps, combating communism in foreign lands, efforts to

alleviate or abolish poverty, the ecumenical movement, mental health, air and water pollution, and many others. The trouble lies in the lack of any dominant criterion for making choices. Perhaps it should not be surprising that a commitment to the self-realization of counselees is as popular among counselors as it seems to be, for such a commitment avoids many difficult social questions.

But let us return to the question of social intervention as a function of guidance. Guidance was born in an atmosphere of social reform and welfare; social intervention is no new idea. But in recent years there seems to be a strong revival of concern. Brayfield (1961) has observed that "Vocational counseling today is an officially recognized instrument of our national policy in social welfare and national security." The warnings issued by Conant (1961) in his *Slums and Suburbs* have all too tragically come true. The Conference on Unemployed Out-of-School Youth in Urban Areas (National Committee for Children and Youth, 1961) sought to mobilize concern for school dropouts and unemployed youth. Recent meetings and workshops, such as the series sponsored by the Harvard Graduate School of Education (Landy et al., 1964-1966), reflect a broad interest in the problems of the alienated and disadvantaged, and in social conditions in the inner city. Clearly, guidance is being expected to assume an active role in social intervention. But intervention for what, and how?

We need to pause here to note that guidance can no longer build exclusively upon a philosophy of education as such, for guidance is no longer limited to the schools. There is counseling in veterans' assistance programs, in vocational rehabilitation centers, in the employment service, in some churches, and in community agencies. Guidance efforts, including some counseling, have been organized in youth centers, in some summer camps, and in continuing education programs, and doubtless we shall see an extension of guidance services for the retired. A rationale for social intervention in guidance within the schools might have built upon the educational philosophy of social reconstruction, but in the heyday of this view there was relatively little organized guidance in the modern sense. And there is another difficulty implicit in the social reconstruction idea. John Dewey, for example, sought to build a philosophy upon the scientific (and, particularly, experimental) method which called for abandoning fixed or absolute values for a continuing reassessment out of which would continually emerge new values. But in post-Hiroshima days we have considerably less faith in science as a social guide.

Any quest for a possible rationale for the social intervention function of guidance must take cognizance of the impact of existential thinking upon counseling. I am not a serious student of existentialism, and what I am about to say in a very sketchy fashion will be certainly incomplete, probably superficial, and perhaps biased. My reluctance to venture into the topic is increased by many currents and crosscurrents evident even to the casual spectator. There are first of all the two basic streams of theistic and atheistic thinking. There are some who write with overtones of humanism, and some who express deep religious seekings for meanings. There are some who turn to

existentialism for new insights into psychology, and some who more specifically seek an orientation for therapy. Words abound, and often turn up in new contexts with fresh tantalizing connotations; it is easy to sympathize with Landsman's (1965) concern for lack of public definitions. One has the feeling that he should either struggle through the semantic entanglements and write a great deal, or else write nothing at all—that to attempt to comment briefly is indeed superficial and perhaps not quite respectable. But I have certain nagging impressions.

The special point at issue here is whether or not existentialism offers a basis for a social intervention function of guidance. Certain existentialist writers have expressed social concerns; Rogers (1961), for example, has discussed the social implications of Kierkegaard's "to be that self which one truly is," and the implications of client-centered therapy for family life. But samples of a number of writers seem to indicate an overwhelming concern with the self and the here-and-now experiencing of the self—of existence. I cannot escape the impression that the concentration upon the subjective which seems to characterize existentialism fails to offer any very direct route for framing a rationale for social intervention. The general tenor is in the opposite direction—toward enduring things as they are while freeing one's self for "becoming," and developing "the Courage to Be" (Tillich, 1952).

Certain developments in government have had a very different impact upon guidance. So far as actual federal participation in the support of guidance is concerned, the turning point was probably the National Defense Education Act of 1958. There is no denying the practical consequences of making funds available, but the implications for a rationale for guidance are somewhat more clouded. The immediate justification offered for the passage of the bill was, as the title suggests, defense needs. From this starting point there seems to have developed a broader notion of the relation of government and guidance, that of helping meet manpower needs. Now it is clear that such needs are real, and it is easy to accept the idea that at least publicly supported education has an obligation to help the nation meet its manpower needs. But this obligation belongs to the total educational system rather than specifically to guidance.

The idea that education should help meet manpower needs is of course not new. Jefferson's proposals for selective free education afford an early example. He was concerned with identifying and educating those of "best genius" for leadership in the young republic. Education is currently much more closely tied with manpower needs in science and technology than in other areas, although there is now considerable broadening of the base for governmental assistance. What I find disturbing is not this general obligation of education, but the assumption, sometimes explicit and sometimes implicit, that the support of guidance by public funds somehow obligates those engaged in guidance to become recruiters for specific areas of manpower needs. To accept recruiting as a legitimate function of guidance, however worthy the cause or subtle the manner, violates the primary commitment of service to the individual.

The broader question of the relation of guidance to social institutions, whether government, schools, the home, church, or some other, is basic to the matter of social intervention as a guidance function. Two preliminary observations seem in order. First, the term *guidance* may seem to delimit the question to schools, since guidance is more frequently associated with schools than with other settings. Some reject the term altogether. So let us at this point deal only with that part of guidance which is counseling. Second, counseling as an organized, professional activity usually occurs in some kind of institutional setting: schools, government agencies, churches, and so on. The question thus frequently becomes one of the relationship of one kind of activity—counseling—to the total functions and purposes of the institution in which it takes place. In view of these considerations, the original question of relationship to institutions becomes so abstract as to lose meaning. Rather, we must deal with a series of specific questions such as the following:

What is the relationship of counseling in a school situation to the school as a social institution?

What is the relationship of counseling with children of minor age to the rights and responsibilities of the home?

What is the relationship of counseling in a government employment agency to government as an institution?

I make no attempt to offer answers to such questions. In fact, since any such answers involve both practitioners and the institutions in which they serve, it would seem that answers ought to emerge from interactions of all interested parties. This is not a one-man job.

In recent years there has been much discussion of counseling as an agent of change. It seems to me that much of what has been written applies not only to counseling but to the broader efforts of guidance. The construction of a bridge from focus on the individual to social intervention begins on the individual's side of the stream. It is obvious that anyone whom guidance seeks to serve will live in some sort of social setting. If he is really to be helped (not just "advised") in his development, our concern must extend across the stream to the setting in which he lives or probably will live. Blocher (1966) puts it in these words: "The creation of a *developmental milieu* is one of the primary goals of the counselor." The model he uses is milieu therapy, but he goes on to point out that the developmental milieu may not be quite the same as a therapeutic milieu, for the goals and populations served are somewhat different. Actually, current practice has already started across the bridge in many short-term ways. Environmental modification has long been an important element in elementary school guidance; parent conferences, for example, are commonplace. And for older students, providing information about jobs, making recommendations, and creating special environments through group counseling are accepted activities. All of these activities involve some degree of intent to intervene in and modify the environment. The complete crossing of the bridge would involve more thorough attempts to intervene for such purposes and in such ways as helping to create a more positive developmental climate in classrooms; assisting in

curriculum revision; helping some families provide more positive and developmentally oriented atmospheres; working with business and industry toward creating more employment opportunities; providing opportunities for community groups to interact with, understand, and assist subcultural groups; and providing increased scholarship assistance not only for the college-bound but also for those attending vocational schools and technical institutes. Readers can easily supply further examples. Obviously, not all of the above are appropriate undertakings for guidance personnel in local schools but, as was noted earlier, guidance as an enterprise is no longer limited to schools. Obviously, too, many of the above projects cannot be responsibilities of guidance alone, but must be undertaken jointly by guidance and other aspects of the total educational effort.

It seems to me that one of the next major advances affecting guidance will not develop within guidance alone, nor within any one of the other personnel services. Basically, there will come an integrated effort to maintain a clear and steady focus upon the individual in his total milieu. Personnel services have felt their full share of the influence of specialization. Individuals are sometimes shuffled from one specialist to another in such a way that the complete individual in his setting is pretty well obscured. Counselors have often striven to maintain the complete view, but too often with the cards stacked against them. If we can achieve better means of preserving the integrity of the individual in his milieu, then intervention into his environment will be a normal part of the total process of assisting him. We shall cross the bridge to more intervention into his environment as a normal extension of services to him as an individual.

SOME PHILOSOPHICAL QUANDARIES

Guidance appears to have developed as a practical effort to meet perceived needs rather than as an implementation of a clearly articulated philosophical view. Yet practice inevitably raises basic questions, and the result is to seek retrospectively some philosophical foundation for practice. Such questions as the nature of man and the conflict between freedom and determinism cannot be ignored. Others, such as the nature of reality and truth, seem to have been successfully bypassed or postponed (if not ignored) in some guidance circles. What follows is in no sense an attempt to present a systematic philosophical view. First of all, I am not a professional philosopher, and even if I were it would be frivolous to present such a view in two pages. Rather, the following is a kind of confession of my present thinking; it is quite evidently not a scholarly review.

Some of what I wrote earlier in discussing the nature of the individual undoubtedly reflected strains of existentialism. This view is an appealing protest against the dehumanizing forces of our contemporary society, and seems to point to a path of courage in the cosmic loneliness of the universe which some readings of science portray. Existentialism is pertinent in considering the nature of man, but it seems of limited usefulness in trying to

reach an understanding of the nature of the universe. It simply reflects a different kind of limitation than did some earlier systems: British empiricism, for example, limited us to material from the senses. Existentialism is absorbed in experiencing immediate existence and is minimally concerned with the outside world except as something which one accepts as courageously as possible.

Yet our view of reality—our metaphysics, if you will—does enter into the meaning of life. The picture of the universe as a great machine which Newton described has long since dissolved. Even the physical sciences seem to the layman to have accepted relativity and moved toward a kind of indeterminacy. The most casual reading of the story of biological evolution, the geological account of creation, and the origin and passing of galaxies denies a static universe. One may be so impressed by the flux of things and the desire for useful truth that he simply avoids metaphysical questions, as the pragmatists seemed to do, to develop a philosophy for the man who runs. The scientist is committed to an objective study of the phenomena of nature, but why should not the individual be free without apology to project upon the phenomena described by the scientist such humanistic or religious meanings as seem congenial to his own cultural backgrounds and best meet his needs?

In my own search for a foundation of guidance I feel no need of limiting my sources to science, and certainly not to the empirical tradition alone. We should of course seek to understand and use whatever findings science may make available. This is particularly true in the area of techniques. But when we seek a broad foundation for guidance practice why should we not draw from biography, from literature, from philosophy, from religion, or from whatever other sources offer insights which may be helpful? In the actual practice of guidance we cannot in the immediate future—and perhaps not for a very long time—base all our methods upon scientifically tested results. There is a place for the sophisticated, experienced, cautious artisan.

I confess that I cannot see at the present time that guidance has produced a fully developed philosophy as a foundation for practice. But there is an increasing number of serious inquirers and the future may yield more coherent views, even though achieved as retrospective justifications of practices. My own philosophy is more a need than an achievement, more a collection of quandaries than a structure, but there is always the hope of future gains.

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Autobiography

I was born and reared on a farm near Willow Lake, South Dakota, and farmed there with my father for a year after I graduated from high school. Most of my childhood friends and relatives were farmers; few of them even attended high school.

A series of encounters with rheumatic fever cut short an unpromising high school athletic career. Besides the regular school parties, my high school and college extracurricular activities included debating, school plays, the science club, and political clubs.

After one year at Winona State Teachers College in Minnesota, I dropped out to teach in a rural school in South Dakota. When I returned to Winona State I completed the two-year program in elementary education but stayed on to complete my bachelor's degree with secondary school teaching majors in mathematics and physical science. After the first half of my senior year of college, I had earned enough college credits for my degree, but had not completed all of the graduation requirements. Some were waived and I completed the rest the following summer in order to accept the mathematics and general science position offered me by the Winona Public Schools when my cooperating teacher in student teaching decided to take a leave to complete his doctorate. After teaching at Winona for a year and a half (and getting married), I moved to Champaign where I taught mathematics and did some guidance work for two years while earning an A.M. at University of Illinois. Then we moved to Iowa, where I was a senior high school principal for two years, a high school chemistry teacher one year, and an instructor in mathematics at the University of Iowa while completing a Ph.D. in education. Since that time I have done college counseling, teaching, and administration at Washington State University, from 1945 to 1950, and at the University of Illinois since 1950 — as a professor since 1953.

The poverty I experienced as a high school and college student markedly influenced my personal values, political views, and attitudes toward my fellow men. I shall never forget how my generous and proud father was hurt by losing everything he owned during the Depression and by working on the WPA. Nevertheless, these experiences, and my varied work experiences while earning most of my living expenses during the last two years of high school and supporting myself completely while attending college, contributed to my personal and career development. I had part-time and summer jobs as a waiter, short order cook, factory worker, surveyor, clothing salesman, and insurance salesman. Besides gaining varied work experiences, I learned to know and genuinely appreciate people from the various social strata.

Like most people, I have experienced failure and disappointment, but I believe that I have been more fortunate than most to have had significant people who genuinely accepted me, believed in me, and cared for me. My wife and my three daughters and son (Marilyn, Linda, Barbara, and Ron), have given, and continue to provide, unselfish love, rich companionship, respect, encouragement, and stability. Our children have helped me learn to listen to youth and to respect their ideas. My parents and sisters appreciated and loved me, encouraged me to go to school when few did, helped me work out a meaningful relationship with God, and expected a lot from me. My two grandfathers were especially influential in setting high expectations; they really believed I could become anything I set my mind to do. Several high school and college teachers encouraged me and reinforced high academic expectations. They stressed the importance of good grades. I also am especially grateful to a colleague at Winona who listened to me, exchanged ideas with me, and encouraged me when I began teaching. Two such persons at Washington State University also helped me develop my research and counseling skills and encouraged me to write. I also have been fortunate to have had great students who challenged me, made me wonder whether I knew enough to teach, and encouraged me. These are but a few of the people who touched me deeply during the process of maturation. Whether they were family, colleagues, or students, they had one thing in common: they cared about their fellow man, and they taught me to care too.

Professional Commitment

Counselors should not perform work which would destroy their ability to relate to counselees. To do so would be unprofessional. Merle Ohlsen discusses the professional dimensions of the counselor's role. Ohlsen enumerates the ten characteristics of a profession and expands upon their implications for counselors. Since the definition and implementation of counselor role is most important for effective relationships within the educational environs, the five strategies he offers for such implementation will be most helpful for practicing school counselors.

BEFORE I BEGIN MY presentation I want to explain why I have taken this stand. I am a counselor, too, and I feel deeply with practicing counselors. No

counselor should be assigned duties that damage his relationship with his clients, that keep him from providing the services which make a real difference in his clients' lives, and that deprive him of experiencing the job satisfactions which come to counselors who are *allowed to perform top quality professional services*. For example, Carkhuff and Berenson's (1967) findings alone suggest clearly what we must do to establish a helping relationship. Thus, we must band together to help each implement his professional role now.

Effective counselors know who they are and what they can and should do, believe that their clients are helped by their services, are confident that they can perform their services, and are *committed to provide quality services*. They are professionally qualified for their work, accept the responsibility for growth on the job, and take advantage of their opportunities to master new professional knowledge and skills.

Within our profession there are many such persons; and there are many more who have the desire and the *potential to become effective counselors*, but who have been assigned responsibilities which interfere with their success. To define and implement their professional role, counselors need encouragement and support from fellow counselors, supervisors, and their profession. I shall discuss the distinctive characteristics of professions, our professional role, ways in which we can convey our role, and ways in which we can help each other implement our role.

COMMITMENT

You remember that the 1968 convention theme was "Total Awareness, Total Commitment." To me this means knowing our professional responsibilities and making the professional commitment to fulfill them.

We need the kind of commitment that is required of clients for effective group counseling: a commitment to talk openly about our problems, to face up to these problems and to do something about them, to change our behavior and attitudes, and to accept the responsibility for helping others do these things.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PROFESSIONS

From my analysis of papers by Anderson (1962), Lieberman (1956), Morton, Reader and Kendall (1957), Tyler (1952), Vollmer and Mills (1966), and Wrenn (1962), I concluded that professions have these ten distinctive characteristics:

1. The members of a profession perform unique and clearly defined services. In addition to defining the nature of their services, professionals also define the conditions under which these services can best be provided. When the members of a profession decide that the use of aides will enhance their efficiency, they define the aides' duties and supervise them.

This paper was read at the New England Counseling and Guidance Conference on October 7, 1968.

2. The members of a profession define essential professional preparation for their work. Obviously, the unique services to be performed must be clearly defined before adequate professional preparation can be developed.
3. Entry into a profession is based upon a common body of knowledge and skills. Professional preparation stresses intellectual development, the search for new knowledge, and techniques for improving professional practice.
4. A profession controls admission to its ranks. Professional schools and colleges are expected to screen candidates carefully and admit only those who appear to be able to profit from the professional preparation and to qualify for a license when they complete it. Qualifications for a license are usually determined by an examining board drawn from the ranks of the profession. The penalty for practicing without a license is determined by state law.
5. Standards for professional performance are determined by members of the profession. For school counselors this would mean that a school counselor's services could be evaluated only by licensed (or certified) counselors.
6. A profession develops a code of ethics for its members. Furthermore, a profession develops a procedure for clarifying, updating, and enforcing its professional standards. Failure to discipline irresponsible behavior encourages civil agencies to supervise members' behavior.
7. Members of a profession must try to be more concerned about service to society than about income, power, and prestige. Professionals are committed to provide the best service they can offer. When they question their ability to provide the service which a client requires they seek the assistance of qualified consultants and/or refer the client.
8. Members of a profession are given considerable autonomy in practice.
9. Members of a profession must accept responsibility for their judgments. Obviously, this responsibility involves risks, but it also enhances respect and increases autonomy.
10. Members of a profession accept responsibility for growth on the job. This includes both active participation in one's local, state, and national professional organization (in this case, APGA) and keeping up with professional literature and practices.

Some committed counselors meet most of these conditions now. Within their work setting they have been permitted to define and implement a professional role. Others work in settings in which the role gradually emerged over a long period of time *before* counselors defined a professional role and adequate professional preparation was developed. Some who work within these settings are satisfied with such an inappropriate role. Others would like to implement a professional role, but they lack the courage, self-confidence, and support necessary from colleagues and supervisors to cope with colleagues and supervisors who cannot accept the professional role.

Many secondary school counselors are caught in this dilemma: they know that they should define their role differently, or at least eliminate from their list of responsibilities some tasks which interfere with their effectiveness, but they are reluctant to risk conflict with colleagues and supervisors who accept these inappropriate assignments. Some also question whether they really want professional affiliation with counseling; they see themselves primarily as teachers, and are perhaps more interested in the issues being discussed in their teachers' organizations than in the counselors' professional organizations. They also see the advantage of professional affiliation with teachers, and may wonder whether they can become deeply involved with another special professional group and still maintain their relationship with their fellow teachers.

Some educators contend that school counselors are merely special teachers, and that the school principal has the professional knowledge to define their role and evaluate their services. Professional counselors, on the other hand, contend that school counselors are educators who perform specialized services which require specialized knowledge and skills different from (but not better than) teachers'. These committed counselors have demonstrated that they can be active members of a separate professional organization and also maintain membership in their teachers' organization, strengthen their professional role, and develop and/or maintain a good working relationship with their colleagues, provided that they feel and exhibit respect for their teaching colleagues and provide adequate professional services. Obviously, a good school counselor must be a working member of the professional team. He can do this and still function as a professional counselor.

Even defining a unique role and implementing it are not sufficient. A professional participates in solving his profession's problems at the local, state, and national levels. Recent changes in APCA bylaws increased opportunities for direct member participation. When he endorsed such participation, Munger (1967, p. 1) asked that it be limited to *committed members* of the profession:

... I am for members having more voice in the operation of APCA through the branches but only if they are qualified members and able to contribute to the growth of the profession. I believe that now is the time to separate the "committed" from the "noncommitted." From time to time, I have had contact with "counselors" who had never heard of APCA and who also did not know that counseling was more than giving a few tests and carrying out disciplinary assignments ordered by the school principal. Our profession of counseling needs to have well prepared members who behave like professionals. APCA should be for the professionals in counseling, guidance, and personnel. Only the "committed" should be allowed to discuss the direction the profession should take.

OUR PROFESSIONAL ROLE

Recently counselors have given careful attention to the definition of their professional role. I call two reports to your attention: ASCA's "Statement of Policy for Secondary School Counselors" (1967) and "Guidelines for Imple-

mentation" (1967), and ACES-ASCA's preliminary statement on the role of the elementary school counselors (1966). These role definitions stress the counselor's helping relationships: counseling students concerning the problems with which *they want help*, helping them get to know themselves, helping them locate and evaluate information about the opportunities available to them, and helping them learn to make decisions; and consulting parents, teachers and administrators.

These role definitions also recognize the importance of the counselor being freed of administrative and clerical duties to devote more time to students and staff, having a reasonable student load, and being assigned only those other job duties which enhance a good working relationship with students and staff. Students and staff must unequivocally see the counselor as a trustworthy confidant. All evaluative and judgmental duties damage the counselor's effectiveness. When, for example, a principal enlists the counselor's assistance in evaluating teachers' qualifications for tenure, he damages the counselor's relationship with teachers in much the same way that disciplinary or evaluative responsibilities damage his relationships with students. Research which supports this notion pertaining to a counselor's relationships with students is cited here:

Jensen (1955, p. 503) interviewed a random sample of students concerning the persons from whom they would seek assistance with their problems. From this study he concluded that, "Deans of boys and deans of girls who are known by students to be responsible for school discipline received few choices. It would seem that students would definitely avoid seeking help from individuals who assume authoritative roles."

Ivey (1959) investigated students' reactions to counselors who also taught a course in personal adjustment for college freshmen. He found that these students preferred to discuss problems of a serious and confidential nature with someone other than their teachers.

Gilbert (1965) compared 10th- and 12th-grade students' perceptions to actual and ideal student-counselor relationships in three different school districts in which qualified counselors were employed, but whose degree of involvement in discipline varied: 1) counselors had no responsibility for discipline; 2) counselors had no formal responsibility for discipline except that which was involved in teaching guidance courses on a half-time basis; and 3) every counselor was also a discipline officer. For our purpose, Gilbert's most relevant findings were:

Counseling relationships with counselors who have no responsibility for discipline are more in keeping with student's descriptions of ideal counseling relationships than are counseling relationships with counselors who have assigned responsibility for discipline (p. 491).

Descriptions of an ideal counseling relationship by students at the same grade level in different schools are similar, and seem not to be affected by differences in duties assigned to and carried out by counselors in separate schools (p. 490).

Having a good role definition and being able to implement it also seems to affect counselors' job satisfaction (Hansen, 1968; Ohlsen, 1967, and

Mendelson, 1967). Major sources of job satisfaction for counselors included understanding and acceptance of their professional role from teachers, administrators, and parents; respect for the counselor's professional judgment, and recognition of specific ways in which counseling helped students.

Job satisfaction appears to be related to rated effective performance of selected activities of the school counselor. Those rated more effective liked and trusted their colleagues, had the same interests, and felt that they were respected. They felt that they understood the job and were adequately prepared and competent to handle it. The job was so meaningful that they thought and talked about it even after hours. The counselors' work maintained a central life interest (Hansen, p. 868).

Thus, for job satisfaction as well as effective relationships with our clients and colleagues, we must be able to define and implement our professional role.

CONVEYING OUR ROLE

ASCA president Eldon Ruff (1967, p. 84) has called for commitment and action from secondary school counselors. He pointed out that a great deal of time and energy had been spent in preparing their role statement; now they must communicate it to relevant others:

How committed are you to fulfilling your role as a counselor? If you are committed to fulfilling your role as a school counselor, then you must take steps to make administrators and fellow staff members aware of your role as a member of the total school team and not something separate and apart from the rest of the school staff. Counselors cannot fulfill their role in a vacuum.

When a new counselor is employed, he should define his services for his colleagues in teaching and administration. Periodically this should be repeated. He should state briefly what the counselor does and the conditions which are most conducive to his effectiveness, give some examples of problems which students have discussed with him, and describe how he has helped them. His professional organization's statement on role and function is most helpful in preparing such a statement: it provides ideas, authenticity, and support.

The counselor should also encourage his colleagues to ask questions and state their doubts. As he fields these questions and copes with doubters, he reveals his competencies and wins their respect. He also would openly enlist their assistance: "I need your support and assistance to succeed. For example, at the outset I would appreciate being invited into your classes to get to know your students, to tell them about my services, and to answer their questions."

As counselors we must know not only what we should do and what we can do, but whom we have helped and under what circumstances. To accomplish this we must undertake at least some informal evaluation of our services—try to assess to what degree our services have helped those whom we serve. Until we develop specific goals for, and with the assistance of, our clients, we cannot adequately assess our effectiveness. Here those who have advocated the use of behavior modification techniques have helped us. They have demonstrated how to *define specific goals and assess measurable outcomes*.

Thus, we convey who we are and what we can do by our behavior and services as well as by our words. This is why Wattenberg (1953, p. 202) strongly endorsed the idea of case finding. He believes that all too often we are judged by our failure rather than by our success:

Two particularly harmful side effects grow out of this state of affairs. As he finds himself working on refractory cases with little progress, the counselor's own morale can be shaken. Even more serious for the growth of a guidance program within a school system or business concern, the principal or superintendent who has given the counselor a "tough nut to crack" may later point to the consequent "failures" as evidence that "guidance has been overrated."

The approach described above conveys to such relevant others as teachers, administrators, and students *whom the counselor can help*. As a consequence of their being informed, students seek assistance on their own and are referred by colleagues. Furthermore, when a poor risk is referred the counselor may remind the person who made the referral that the client is a poor bet, but that he will try to work with the individual on a temporary basis until he can determine whether he can help or whether the student should be referred. In any case, he is in a good position to provide feedback and, when necessary, to involve the person who made the referral in making another referral.

Rippee, Hanvey, and Parker's (1965, p. 701) findings are relevant here:

One thing is clear from the results of this paper. The counselor, to a very great extent, determines the perceptions that others have of his role. The students of the experimental group after counseling tended to rate higher those items which described what the counselor actually did in their school. For example, the item dealing with test interpretation before counseling received 55 percent of the student responses. After counseling, however, 87 percent of the students scored the item as like what a counselor does. Test interpretation was one job function that the counselors performed in the school. Another example is that the counselors did not check absences. The students, after counseling, more strongly agreed that absence checking was unlike the counselor role. One can conjecture that where the students describe the counselor as doing clerical and administrative duties, the counselor is probably performing such duties within the school setting. The students no doubt learn counselor role also from teachers and administrators. But, how do the teachers and administrators learn his role? Their perceptions of the counselor's role, to a large extent, are based on the counselor's perception of his role and the degree to which he both implements this role and communicates it to others. The counselor, it seems, needs to understand himself and his purposes and then implement them if he expects others to seek appropriate services from him.

This requires commitment and self-confidence from the counselor. Support from his professional organization and from trusted colleagues enhances both.

PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT

What other professional support can the profession provide? Why is it needed?

I shall try first to answer these questions, and then to describe a structure which can provide the necessary support and stimulation for growth on the job.

Beginning counselors often need assistance in giving up attitudes and behaviors which were satisfying to them as teachers, in learning and integrating new counseling attitudes and behaviors, and in coping with negative reinforcers of old attitudes and behaviors. Olsen (1963) hinted that perhaps their counselor education had merely taught them to play new roles which effective services require them to live. Regular supervision by good supervisors and association with committed counselors can supply the positive reinforcement which beginning counselors need.

For counselors who would like to experience more positive reinforcement for implementing their professional role, I shall describe a strategy which every one of you can use:

1. Select (possibly with the assistance of your graduate adviser) the four or five best committed counselors you can identify within your area.
2. Invite them to join with you in forming a group to discuss the problems you meet in counseling and implementing your role, to keep up to date with the professional literature, to exchange ideas, to learn new skills, and to play and analyze recorded interviews. Usually such groups meet biweekly.
3. After the group is well established, others may ask to join. Only the genuinely committed should be admitted.
4. Once members become fairly secure, they may permit individual members to invite a supervisor or administrator to join them for a session to discuss differences in perceptions of the counselor's role.
5. When the group approaches 20 members, it should divide into two groups—taking into account special professional and leadership skills of members in each new group.

Such groups have helped counselors establish their professional role. They encourage each other and gain the courage to face up to their problems with administrators and colleagues, and to work for a meaningful professional role. When they watch others solve their problems, their own do not seem so difficult. They learn when to nudge another along and when to wait patiently for him to find his own solution. They also help one another see themselves as others see them, and help each use his own assets to function more effectively. Another important feature of such a group is its spreading influence—as it grows it divides and spreads.

We must band together—not merely to protect ourselves or to avoid responsibilities which we do not want to undertake, but to improve our services for students and colleagues. The kinds of small-group experiences described above can help those of us who are genuinely committed to fulfill ourselves as counselors.

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Autobiography

An analysis of my career pattern might suggest that it has been the pattern designated by Miller and Form as the multiple-trial pattern. I have sometimes suggested to audiences, following an introduction detailing my various job titles, that my career illustrates what happens when one does not have the benefits of vocational counseling.

But another factor perhaps accounts for the delayed development of a career, and the delays in completing a professional education. That factor is financial. I recently spoke to a group of employment service counselors on the topic of understanding the disadvantaged client. The person who introduced me remarked that, as a college teacher, I had spent over 10 years preparing my presentation. My reply was that actually I could claim that I had spent some 50 years in preparation, since I grew up as a disadvantaged child.

I was born on June 22, 1912, in Lynn, Massachusetts. My mother was of old New England stock who could, I was told, trace their ancestry back to the Mayflower. My father was of Scotch-English background and ran away from his home in Halifax to go to sea at the age of 16. His career, and his life, were cut short by the flu epidemic of 1919. Thereafter for several years, my mother kept the family, including myself and two younger brothers and a sister, together with the help of aid to dependent children. She later remarried, but my stepfather was unsuccessful occupationally, and we continued in poverty during the 1920's.

When I was in my freshman year in high school I was encouraged to change to the college preparatory curriculum, with the assurance that college would be possible with scholarship assistance. However, in hopes of better employment opportunities, we moved from Lynn to Danvers. Giving up college visions, I completed the business curriculum, graduating in 1931 as valedictorian. Following graduation I became active in young people's work in the church, moving up into

leadership positions in the regional organization. This work led to an interest in entering the ministry and the revival of college plans.

In the meantime, my work experience had begun. The summer before my junior year I worked on a local truck farm, 10 hours a day, 6 days a week, at 15 cents an hour. When school opened, I obtained a part-time job in a small baby-shoe factory, working after school and Saturdays. My duties were varied, including sweeping up the floors. Following graduation from high school I continued working on a full-time basis. The low pay, and assisting in supporting the family, left little if anything for savings.

Thus, there was the problem of finances for college. In addition, there was the problem of gaining admission to a college without a college preparatory background, and specifically lacking the two years of foreign language and two years of mathematics generally required. I applied to Harvard but was rejected because I lacked high school Latin.

The liberal policies of the University of Chicago finally gave me my opportunity. I was admitted on condition that I make up deficiencies and was awarded a two-year tuition scholarship. So, with \$100 of my own money and \$300 from my grandfather, I entered the University of Chicago in the fall of 1934. When my tuition scholarship expired, I borrowed from a Methodist loan fund and from my former employer to pay tuition for my junior and senior years. I earned all my other expenses by part-time work as a busboy in a university cafeteria, and under the N.Y.A. federally supported program.

Under the influence of the Chicago plan under Hutchins, my occupational goal changed. I became interested in the social sciences, and when the time came to select a major I chose sociology. So in 1938 I graduated in sociology, but with no job to go to. A degree was of little value when jobs were not available. As my German professor used to say, with a Ph.D. and a dime, one could ride the streetcar in Chicago. This same professor, when I was introduced to him by one of my sociology professors as a promising student in sociology, responded by asking "What does he promise?" Promising or not, I was unemployed.

So I stayed on in Chicago, continuing to work as a busboy, and also continuing part-time on a project on which I was working as a student assistant in the School of Education. This was the development and standardization of the Chicago Mental Growth Battery by Frank N. Freeman and M. A. Wenger. Dr. Wenger had taken a position as research associate in psychophysiology at the Fels Research Institute of Antioch College. In December 1938, on a visit to Chicago to close out the project, he asked if I would be interested in a position as a research assistant in psychology at Fels with rank of instructor at Antioch College. I was, and in January 1939, I began work at Fels. I began reading and study in child psychology, became interested in psychoanalysis, and in the summer of 1940 I enrolled at Harvard University Summer School for reading and study in psychoanalysis with Robert W. White.

At Fels I collected data for the longitudinal study of child development, interviewed and tested the parents of the study children, and lectured in some of the psychology courses taught by my colleagues on the Fels psychology staff. My interest in psychoanalysis led to a study in collaboration with the staff nutritionist, Frances Spano, of the relation between presence or absence of breast feeding and child personality at the nursery school age level. This resulted in my first publication, entitled "Breast Feeding, Maternal Rejection and Child Personality."

I realized the need for further education, and decided to return to school for graduate work in child psychology. In September 1941, my college debts paid, I entered the University of Minnesota as senior teaching assistant in the Institute of Child Welfare, working with John E. Anderson and Florence Goodenough. In the summer of 1942 I became an instructor, teaching a course in child psychology to nurses, and worked on my thesis, utilizing data I had collected while at Fels. Before the thesis was completed, however, I entered the service, in the Air Force cadet selection and classification program, and was stationed in San Antonio, Texas. In the meantime, the collaboration with Frances Spano became a permanent one with our marriage on July 4, 1942.

As a psychological assistant in the Air Force I was involved in the administration of the psychomotor test battery. As the program expanded and decentralized, the demand for test administrators was greater than the supply of college-trained staff. Air Force enlistees who were rejected for flight training were assigned to the psychological examining units for service. James Chaplin, John Shlien and I were assigned to prepare a training manual and conduct a training program to prepare these personnel, who had had two years of college education, to serve as administrators of the selection and classification test battery. This was an early use of subprofessional personnel in psychology.

In 1944, J. P. Guilford was transferred from Santa Ana to San Antonio. He was working on one of the volumes reporting on the Air Force testing and selection program. He felt I might be useful in the volume he was editing, and as a result I was assigned to work with him. It was intended that I would write the section on personality testing. However, I first took over a chapter on psychomotor tests, since the writer of the chapter had just been commissioned and transferred. As it happened, before I finished the chapter, my commission as a clinical psychologist came through and I left San Antonio.

After a brief period as clinical psychologist at a hospital in Texas and at the regional hospital at Fort Knox, Kentucky, I was sent with a number of other clinical psychologists to the Philippines, from where we were to go on to Japan following the planned invasion. But the end of the war came, and when my length of service gave me enough points for discharge I returned to the United States and was discharged early in 1946.

I was interested in the Veterans Administration and had applied for a position as clinical psychologist. There was a long delay in my being accepted, but I waited out the several months, investigating but not accepting other positions, and finally in the fall of 1946 I joined the clinical psychology staff at the VA hospital in Canandaigua, New York, a location selected in preference to St. Cloud, Minnesota, or Des Moines, Iowa, because it was near my wife's family and near enough to Rochester that I hoped I could continue my education at the University of Rochester.

Such was not to be the case, however. An opportunity arose in the newly developing program of personal counseling in the VA Vocational, Rehabilitation and Education Program. Dr. Daniel Wiener, a friend from service, was chief of vocational advisement in the regional office in Minnesota, and urged me to accept a position as personal counselor in the regional office.

I accepted and, as part of the new assignment, spent several weeks at the University of Chicago in the training program in personal counseling conducted by Carl Rogers and his staff.

In the fall of 1947 I resumed my graduate work at Minnesota, changing my major from child psychology to educational psychology, which had been my minor for my master's work. My hours at the VA allowed me to attend classes at the university, since I was permitted, even expected, to be available for evening counseling sessions with veterans who were engaged in education or on-the-job training programs during the day. So for several years I worked two evenings a week and progressed in my doctoral program at the university.

It was over seven years before I completed my doctorate on this basis. When I received my degree in March 1955, I had already published my first book, *The Wechsler-Bellevue Scales: A Guide for Counselors*, and had five children.

The doctorate opened up the field of academic work to me, a field which I was desirous of entering. The problem was to find a suitable position at the age of 43 with no real teaching experience. The development of programs in rehabilitation counseling under the Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments of 1954 seemed to offer the opportunity I wanted. The specific opportunity came about by chance or coincidence. In the fall of 1955 a dinner honoring John E. Anderson on his 25th year at the University of Minnesota brought together many of his former students. At this dinner a mutual acquaintance brought Dr. Frank Finch, of the University of Illinois, and me together. Our conversation revealed that the position I was looking for and the person the university was seeking matched. As a result, in March of 1956 I went to the University of Illinois as associate professor of educational psychology and coordinator of the rehabilitation counselor education program.

My professional identification had always been that of a psychologist, and although in the VA I had been in the field of rehabilitation for almost ten years, I did not identify with rehabilitation counseling. I had been a member of APA since 1944, but was not a member of the National Rehabilitation Association nor of the American Personnel and Guidance Association. Now I became a member of both these organizations, and became involved in the field of rehabilitation and rehabilitation counseling. I was one of the organizers of the American Rehabilitation Counseling Association, a division of APGA, and was president of the association in 1962-63.

I did not want to see rehabilitation counseling develop in isolation from other fields of counseling, and in accepting the position at the University of Illinois I indicated that I did not want a separate program of preparation for rehabilitation counselors, but one which would be part of a general program of counselor education. This was accepted, and as the program of counselor education grew and developed, I was elected chairman of the Division of Counseling and Guidance (now the Division of Counselor Education) when it organized within the Department of Educational Psychology in 1965. It was our desire to remain affiliated with, or a part of, educational psychology rather than to become a separate department.

My broad interest in psychology has led me to attempt to avoid too narrow a specialization. Yet specialization is unavoidable. One can't possibly keep up on the front of psychology. For a number of years I read *Psychological Abstracts* from cover to cover in the attempt to do so to some extent, but even this was discontinued as I began writing more in the field of counseling. At present the effort to resist too much specialization has been reduced to the reading of *Contemporary Psychology* from cover to cover.

This interest in the broad field of psychology is probably related to another characteristic which seems to be strong in me. This is the interest in or need to attempt to integrate and systematize facts and concepts. It seems to me incontrovertible that since man is a unified whole, so must there be an underlying unity and system to all of psychology, and it would seem desirable that we constantly review apparent facts or research findings and theoretical concepts in the attempt to develop and continually revise a unified theory or conceptual framework for human behavior.

While it is no doubt possible that my career might have been quite different if I had had vocational counseling in high school, I do not regret the fact, considering the quality of vocational counseling in most schools 40 years ago (and even now). I am tempted to consider myself fortunate to have been able to forge my own career, as devious as its development has been.

The intrinsic value of work became especially important to me with the death of my wife in February 1966, ending almost 24 years of a relationship which gave me the security to develop vocationally and as a person, and to overcome, to some slight degree, a deep-seated sense of insecurity. My interest in my work and its demands served as one of the balances which, with my children, has enabled me to keep on going. My seven children, who developed under her care, have become a source of pride and comfort.

A Model for Counseling and Other Facilitative Human Relationships

Counseling has long been recognized as the crucial component of the counselor's role, or as the "heart of guidance." C. H. Patterson directs much of his discussion toward the creation of a model for counseling. His model is designed to be conceptual rather than mathematical and formal. He integrates what is now known about counseling, and in so doing utilizes much of the major research evidence available today.

Patterson talks about goals of counseling as immediate, mediate, and ultimate. The ultimate goal of counseling is "self-actualization," "self-realization," or "self-enhancement." In positing this as a goal, Patterson avoids the weaknesses of an adjustment model. In order to help the client move toward this goal the counselor must provide the necessary ingredients for an effective human relationship. Patterson discusses these components at length. His statements on the professional education of counselors will cause counselor educators to take a close look at their preparation programs.

IT IS CURRENTLY FASHIONABLE, on a pseudoscientific basis, to admit to ignorance about counseling or psychotherapy. It is pointed out that there are many different theories, methods, approaches, and techniques, all of which seem to work equally effectively or, rather, ineffectively. Thus, it is claimed, there is no one best method, no essential condition, no basis for preferring one

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IT IS CURRENTLY FASHIONABLE, on a pseudoscientific basis, to admit to ignorance about counseling or psychotherapy. It is pointed out that there are many different theories, methods, approaches, and techniques, all of which seem to work equally effectively or, rather, ineffectively. Thus, it is claimed, there is no one best method, no essential condition, no basis for preferring one

approach over another. It is noted that there is no good research, and particularly that there is no evidence for the effectiveness of counseling or psychotherapy. Eysenck (1952, 1960, 1961, 1966) is still cited to support this statement, although his claim has been disputed and contradicted by recent research. In fact, reinterpretation of earlier research (Bergin, 1963) indicates that in many studies, while on the average no effects were found, some clients improved while others got worse. This phenomenon has been supported by a number of studies (Barron and Leary, 1955; Cartwright, 1956; Cartwright and Vogel, 1960; Rogers, 1961b; Truax, 1963; Truax and Carkhuff, 1964b; Truax and Wargo, 1966). But so persistent is the idea that there is no evidence for the effectiveness of counseling or psychotherapy that Arbuckle (1968) quotes Bergin (1967) out of context to this effect.

In addition, there has been accumulating considerable evidence regarding not only the effectiveness of counseling or psychotherapy, but of the conditions leading to these results. Many of the studies have been conducted by Rogers and his associates at Wisconsin, and later by Truax and Carkhuff and their associates, and are summarized in Rogers (1967), Truax and Carkhuff (1967), and Carkhuff and Berenson (1967).

There thus appears to be sufficient evidence for the effectiveness of counseling or psychotherapy, and for the conditions leading to effectiveness, to attempt to develop a model. In fact, since, as has been suggested by many writers for a long time (e.g., Fiedler, 1950), these conditions are the conditions for all good interpersonal relationships, the model applies to all facilitative human relationships. However, since it is easier to think in the context of a particular relationship, the model will be developed in the context of counseling or psychotherapy.

It is recognized that such a model can at this time be only a tentative one. Yet it is felt that the time is appropriate for such an attempt. There are those who would say that we don't yet know enough to make this attempt, and who talk about waiting for some spectacular breakthrough (often in the chemical area). But perhaps we know more than we think we know. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist who has worked with Harvard students as well as with the poor in the South, has said that we already know much if not most of what there is to know about psychodynamics and the causes of mental disorder. He states that, "as for what can legitimately be called psychiatric disorders, I am not at all convinced that anything 'new' will be discovered to 'cure' them."

The model to be presented is not a formal or mathematical model. It is a conceptual model, representing an attempt to organize or integrate what we now know into a comprehensive, general view of the nature and operation of helping relationships.

Any comprehensive model of behavior change — of which helping relationships, including counseling and psychotherapy, are an important category in the area of voluntary change — has three broad aspects: 1) goals or objectives, both general and specific, 2) the process, and 3) the conditions which set in motion the process. The following discussion is therefore organized under these three major categories.

GOALS

Mahrer (1967, p. 1) opens his book on the goals of psychotherapy with the statement that "the literature on psychotherapy has little to offer on the goals of psychotherapy—their identification, significance, and organization. On this point, clinicians, researchers, and theoreticians have been curiously inarticulate." This apparent lack of concern is curious, in view of the tremendous amount of writing and research on methods and techniques and outcomes, since it would appear that the determination of goals would be a prior question. Studies of the effectiveness of counseling or psychotherapy should certainly involve the question, effectiveness for what? Mahrer's book provides the most extensive and explicit discussion of goals yet available. Nevertheless, goals have been implicit if not explicit aspects of all the major approaches to counseling or psychotherapy (Ford & Urban, 1963; Patterson, 1966).

Part of the problem with goals is that there appear to be several levels of objectives, or differences in specificity or generality. Parloff (1967) recognizes an aspect of this when he discriminates between mediating and ultimate goals. His mediating goals are steps or stages in the counseling process which lead to the outcome or ultimate goals. There seems to be a need for consideration of another level of goals between the mediating goals within the process and the general ultimate goals. In this discussion we will be concerned with three kinds or levels of goals which we shall call *ultimate*, *mediate*, and *immediate*. The immediate goals are similar to Parloff's mediating goals, and will be considered under the heading of process rather than under goals.

Ultimate Goals

Ultimate goals are broad and general in nature. They involve long-term outcomes. When we talk in terms of ultimate goals we are concerned with what kind of persons we want to be, with what people should be like. In effect we are raising the question of the goals of life and living, the goals of a society and the goals of education, both formal and informal.

Such broad or general goals have been described or suggested by a number of writers. Jahoda's (1958) discussion of concepts of positive mental health approaches but does not quite reach this level. White's (1959) concept of competence is an approach, but, as Bonner (1965, p. 190) and Maslow (1962, pp. 168-169) note, it conceptualizes behavior in the adjustment framework, and is thus not ultimate. One must ask, competent for what, in whose eyes or opinion? Psychological effectiveness is a similar term or concept—again one must ask, effectiveness for what? There is a need for a criterion.

There are several terms or concepts which appear to transcend these limitations and to constitute an ultimate goal which needs no other criterion than itself. The most commonly-used term is *self-actualization*. Similar terms are *self-realization*, and *self-enhancement*.

There are a number of characteristics of this concept, in addition to its constituting a criterion, which make it significant. First, it provides a criterion for positive mental health which avoids the problems of the adjustment model and the medical model of mental illness. Second, it constitutes a general goal

of life, and thus of all aspects or areas of life, including the good society and the educational process. Third, it is not, or should not be, a static goal. While self-actualization could be conceived of as a static end, it is in actuality a process, since a final state is never reached. Self-actualizing is a better term to denote this continuing process. Fourth, while we are concerned with self-actualizing as a goal, particularly for counseling and other helping relationships, it can also be conceived of as the single basic motivation of human beings (Patterson, 1964b). Goldstein (1939, p. 196) expressed this basic motivation when he stated that "an organism is governed by a tendency to actualize, as much as possible, its individual capacities, its 'nature in the world.'" Rogers (1951, p. 195) stated it as follows: "The organism has one basic tendency and striving—to actualize, maintain and enhance the experiencing organism." Combs and Snygg (1959, p. 38) refer to the maintenance or enhancement of the self, which they equate with self-actualization as the "all inclusive human need which motivates all behavior at all times and in all places."

The concept of self-actualization thus provides a single common or universal need or goal, not only of counseling or psychotherapy and of all helping relationships, but of life. Counseling is thus consistent with life, and its goal is not something apart from everyday living, but inherent in it. Many writers in counseling and psychotherapy implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, accept self-actualization, in some form, as the goal of counseling or psychotherapy (Mahrer, 1967; Maslow, 1967; Rogers, 1961b). May (1967, p. 109), for example, states that "the goal of therapy is to help the patient actualize his potentialities."

A major criticism of broad, general goals such as self-actualization is that they are too general, vague, and amorphous to be useful. The behaviorists, particularly, ask, as Krumboltz (1966, pp. 10-11) does, for an operational definition in terms of specific behaviors. This is a legitimate question. And if a general concept is significant and pertinent, it can, at least in principle, be reduced to specific, objective, or measurable variables.

An approach to this has been made in Maslow's work in his study of self-actualizing people (Maslow, 1954, 1962, 1967). Rogers' (1959, 1961b) description of the fully functioning person is also a step in this direction. Maslow lists among the characteristics of his sample of self-actualizing people acceptance of self and of other, spontaneity, empathy, democraticness, creativity, and openness to experience. In his most recent discussion of behaviors leading to self-actualization he also lists being honest, taking responsibility, and making choices. The next step would be to develop measures of these characteristics.

Mediate Goals

The characteristics listed above are common aspects of self-actualization, characteristics which all self-actualizing people presumably share. They are part of the definition of the concept, and not separate or discrete steps or stages toward its attainment. Mediate goals may be considered as specific steps toward the general goal or as subgoals. It is these goals which the behaviorists appear to be most concerned about, and upon which they focus. Some of

these goals appear to vary, in some cases at least, among individuals. There thus appear to be two kinds of mediate goals: those which are general sub-goals, and those which vary among individuals.

Many of the goals discussed by counselors or psychotherapists (e.g., in Mahler, 1967) are subgoals in the context of the goal of self-actualization. These include such things as reduction of symptomatology, reduction of psychological pain and suffering including anxiety, reduced hostility, increased pleasure, elimination of unadaptive habits, acquisition of adaptive habits, understanding of one's self and one's needs, and obtaining a satisfying job.

An additional major characteristic of the ultimate goal of self-actualization is that, while it provides a single common goal, recognizing the basic unitary and universal motivation of human life, it also allows for individual differences. Maslow (1962, p. 196) points out that since self-actualization is the actualization of a self, and since no two selves are alike, individuals actualize themselves in different ways. The different ways in which individuals actualize themselves, or their differing potentials, are represented in the different sub-goals — or mediate goals — of counseling. Thus, individuals with different talents or abilities would be able to develop their specific potentials. Improvement in academic performance might be a goal for some while others might actualize themselves by developing some other ability or talent. Graduation from high school or college might be a goal for some but not for others. Again, marriage might be an appropriate goal for some clients but not for others, and for married clients, separation or divorce might be a goal.

The final value of the goal of self-actualization is that it becomes a criterion for sub-goals or for individual mediate goals. The behaviorists, in their concern for concrete, objective, specific goals, sometimes appear to have no other criterion than these characteristics. But it is the meaning of the specific goals for self-actualization of the individual client which determines their acceptability.

THE PROCESS

The immediate goal of counseling is to set in motion, and continue, a process which will lead to the mediate and ultimate goals desired. The counseling process has been described in various ways, and no review of these descriptions will be attempted here. For descriptions of the counseling process from the points of view of a number of theoretical approaches to counseling or psychotherapy, the reader is referred to an earlier publication (Patterson, 1966) and to Ford and Urban (1963).

The mediating goals of Parloff (1967) are aspects of the process. He mentions the following mediating goals: making the unconscious conscious, recall of the repressed, deconditioning, counterconditioning, strengthening or weakening of the superego, development and analysis of the transference neurosis, promoting increased insight, increasing self-acceptance. In spite of the great amount of research on the counseling process, and on counseling outcomes, there is little evidence that the mediating goals listed by Parloff relate to outcomes. There is some evidence, on the other hand, that insight does not neces-

sarily lead to behavior change, or is not necessary for change in behavior to occur (Hobbs, 1962).

There is an aspect of the counseling process which appears to be universal, that is, present regardless of the theoretical approach which the counselor adheres to. This is client exploration of himself, or intrapersonal exploration. The concept of self-exploration includes many of the mediating goals mentioned by Parloff, such as developing awareness of unconscious (or preconscious) material.

Rogers (1951, pp. 72-75), in describing how therapy is experienced by the client, discusses the experience of exploration. Truax and Carkhuff (1967, p. 189) develop the concept of self-exploration as including client activity in "attempting to understand and define his own beliefs, values, motives and actions." Truax has developed a Scale of Depth of Self-Exploration (Truax and Carkhuff, 1967, pp. 195-208) which defines degrees of the process so that interview materials can be rated.

Self-exploration perhaps consists of several aspects or stages. Before an individual can engage in intrapersonal exploration he must be able to reveal or expose himself. Thus the first step is self-disclosure. Self-exploration, including perhaps first negative aspects of the self, followed by more positive aspects, can then occur. The later stages of the process lead to increasing self-awareness, which makes possible the development of the characteristics of the fully functioning person described by Rogers (1961b, pp. 187-192): an increasing openness to experience, increasingly existential living, and an increasing trust in one's organism. These in turn make possible, or are underlying aspects of, self-actualization. In May's (1967, p. 68) terms, self-awareness makes possible self-directed individual development.

That client self-exploration is related to counseling outcomes has been demonstrated in a number of studies (Truax and Carkhuff, 1966; Carkhuff and Berenson, 1967). The relationships are not high enough to indicate that there may not be other significant or important factors related to outcome. But the measure of self-exploration is a global one, and its reliability is far from perfect.

THE CONDITIONS

What are the conditions of a good interpersonal relationship, a relationship which will facilitate self-actualization in others, and which will set in motion and facilitate the process of client self-exploration?

There are a number of conditions which appear to be present in all approaches to, or theories of, counseling or psychotherapy. Three common elements in particular can be identified. Truax and Carkhuff (1967, pp. 23-43) point to the evidence for these common elements in the writings of various theorists.

1. *Empathic Understanding.* By empathic understanding is meant an understanding from an internal frame of reference; it is understanding of another achieved by putting oneself in the place of the other, so that one sees him and the world, as closely as possible, as he does. Rogers' (1961, p. 284) definition perhaps expresses it as well as any: "an accurate, empathic understanding of

the client's world as seen from the inside. To sense the client's private world as if it were your own, but without losing the 'as if' quality — this is empathy . . ." There seem to be no synonyms for empathic understanding. Unlike many other languages, English does not have two words to designate the two kinds of understanding or knowing: knowing about, and the knowing which is empathy. Some American Indian languages apparently had this concept, indicated by the phrase "to walk in his moccasins." The theme of the novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* (Lee, 1962) is dependent on the concept of empathy. At one point the lawyer Atticus Finch, trying to help his children understand people's behavior, said: ". . . if you can learn a simple trick . . . you'll get along a lot better with all kinds of folks. You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view — until you climb into his skin and walk around in it" (p. 34).

Empathy involves at least three aspects or stages. Assuming that the client is willing to allow the counselor to enter his private world, it is first necessary that the counselor listen to the client, and make it possible for the client to communicate his perceptions. The second aspect is the counselor's understanding of this world. And third is the communication of this understanding to the client. Truax and Carkhuff (1967, p. 46), in the definition accompanying their tentative Scale for the Measurement of Accurate Empathy, note that "accurate empathy involves both the therapist's sensitivity to current feelings and his verbal facility to communicate this understanding in a language attuned to the client's current feelings."

2. *Nonpossessive Warmth.* This is similar to Rogers' (1957, p. 98) unconditional positive regard: "To the extent that the therapist finds himself experiencing a warm acceptance of each aspect of the client's experience as being a part of the client, he is experiencing unconditional positive regard." Warmth includes acceptance, interest, concern, prizing, respect, and liking. It is nonjudgmental, a valuing without conditions. It is not necessarily acceptance of, or nonjudgment of, behavior, but refers to the client as a person. It is the warmth of a parent who may reject, or not accept, particular behaviors of a child. Truax and Carkhuff (1967, p. 58) in defining their Tentative Scale for the Measurement of Nonpossessive Warmth, say that "it involves a nonpossessive caring for him (the client) as a separate person, and thus, a willingness to share equally his joys and aspirations or his depressions and failures. It involves valuing the patient as a person, separate from any evaluation of his behavior or his thoughts."

3. *Genuineness.* Genuineness is the congruence or integration of the therapist in the relationship (Rogers, 1957): "it means that within the relationship he is freely and deeply himself, with his actual experience accurately represented by his awareness of himself." The therapist isn't thinking or feeling one thing and saying another. He is open, honest, sincere. He is freely and deeply himself, without a facade, and is not playing a role. He is, as the existentialists term it, authentic, or, to use Jourard's (1964) term, transparent.

Genuineness appears to be misinterpreted by some to mean an "anything goes" policy. "Genuineness must not be confused, as it is so often done, with free license for the therapist to do what he will in therapy, especially to express

hostility" (Carkhuff & Berenson, 1967, p. 29). There is a difference, as Carkhuff and Berenson point out, between a construct of genuineness and the construct of facilitative, or therapeutic, genuineness, since, as they note, a genuine person can be destructive. It is unlikely, for example, that a highly authoritarian person, no matter how genuine he is, would be therapeutic.

Nor does genuineness mean that the therapist discloses himself extensively or completely to the client. Truax and Carkhuff (1967, p. 69), in their definition of the Tentative Scale for the Measurement of Therapist Genuineness or Self-Congruence, note that "being himself . . . does not mean that the therapist must disclose his total self, but only that whatever he does show is a real aspect of himself, not a response growing out of defensiveness or a merely 'professional' response that has been learned and repeated." Complete self-disclosure is the client's function in self-exploration, and, while the therapist often gains from the therapeutic encounter, therapy is for the client, not the therapist. "While it appears of critical importance to avoid the conscious or unconscious facade of 'playing the therapeutic role,' the necessity for the therapist's expressing himself fully at all times is not supported. . . . However, there exists some tentative evidence indicating the effectiveness in some situations of therapist self-disclosure . . . in which the therapist (with discriminations concerning the client's interests and concerns) freely volunteers his personal ideas, attitudes, and experiences which reveal him, to a client, as a unique individual" (Carkhuff and Berenson, 1967, pp. 29, 30).

These three conditions (called by Truax and Carkhuff [1967] the "central therapeutic ingredients") appear to be well-established, both theoretically and experimentally. All have been demonstrated to be related both to client self-exploration and to various outcome criteria (Rogers, 1967; Truax and Carkhuff, 1967; Carkhuff and Berenson, 1967). Rogers and Truax (1967) suggest that the three conditions are related in a kind of hierarchy. Accurate empathy is dependent upon warmth, and empathy and warmth both require a genuineness in the relationship.

There are, no doubt, other conditions, in addition to these three, which contribute to a facilitative counseling relationship. Carkhuff and Berenson (1967, pp. 4, 30) mention therapist spontaneity, confidence, openness, flexibility, commitment, and the intensity of the therapeutic contact. Truax and Carkhuff (1967, p. 289-290) view the intensity and intimacy of the therapeutic contact as theoretically a separate aspect of the process. A tentative scale to measure this aspect yielded significant relationships with client self-disclosure and outcome. The scale, however, is significantly related to the three core conditions. There is one further condition which is probably not closely related to the three core conditions, and which therefore probably constitutes a fourth.

4. *Concreteness or Specificity.* Concreteness means that the therapist and the client deal with specific feelings, experiences, and behavior. It is the opposite of generality and abstraction, or vagueness and ambiguity. Carkhuff and Berenson (1967, p. 30) suggest that concreteness serves at least three important functions: it keeps the therapist's response close to the client's feelings

and experiences; it fosters accurateness of understanding of the therapist, allowing for early client corrections of misunderstanding, and it encourages the client to attend to specific problem areas.

Concreteness and specificity would appear to be the opposite of interpretation. Many interpretations are generalizations, abstractions, or higher-level labeling and classifying. Such activity is often not useful. The threatening nature of many interpretations tends to cut off self-exploration on the part of the client, and interpretations which are abstractions or generalizations or simply labeling would appear to have the same effect. To take a simple example, suppose that after a client has explored his relationships with his parents, the therapist should suggest that he has an Oedipus complex. The client might well feel that his problem has been solved, or that he has gained insight. But there would probably be little if any change in his behavior. He would also no doubt feel that there was no point in discussing the matter further, or of engaging in further self-exploration.

Ratings on a tentative scale to measure concreteness have been found to be related to client self-exploration and outcomes (Truax and Carkhuff, 1964a).

The presence of these conditions provides an atmosphere and relationship characterized by lack of threat, in which the client can engage in self-exploration. As Truax and Carkhuff (1967, pp. 151-152) express it, the conditions operate through four channels, which constitute a hierarchy of immediate goals in counseling or psychotherapy. The first in priority is the reinforcement of approach responses to human relating, which leads to self-disclosure. The second is reinforcement of self-exploration, which includes the identification of sources of anxiety. Third is the elimination of specific anxieties or fears, and fourth is the reinforcement of positive self-concepts and self-valuations.

It is worth noting that there is a reciprocal relationship between the conditions of a good human relationship and the resulting effects on the recipient of the conditions (what Truax and Carkhuff [1967, p. 151], call the principle of reciprocal affect). The recipient of the conditions begins to manifest the conditions in his own behavior. *The conditions are aspects of self-actualization.* Self-actualizing people facilitate self-actualization in others. The facilitative conditions are also the goal of the process — *the conditions of counseling are also the criterion.* Furthermore, the client, in becoming a self-actualizing person, becomes therapeutic for others by providing the conditions for their self-actualization.

These conditions (with the exception of concreteness) are not new. There would appear to be nothing revolutionary about them, yet their consistent application in interpersonal relations might well be revolutionary. But they have been known for centuries, and their effectiveness has been demonstrated by over 2000 years of experience. Experience, however, is discounted by the provincialism of Western science. A one-hour experiment in a laboratory — from which little if any generalization to everyday life may be possible — is given more weight than the thousands of years of experience of the human race.

If one considers the totality of the facilitative conditions — understanding,

empathy, concern, liking, prizing, acceptance, respect, warmth, sincerity, openness, authenticity, transparency, intensity, intimacy, specificity — they add up to a concept which has long been recognized as basic to good human relationships. The Greeks had a word for it: *agape*. St. Paul called it love. His letter to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 13: 4-8) might be rewritten in the language of these conditions. Love is the therapy for all disorders of the human mind and spirit and of disturbed interpersonal relationships. We don't need to wait for a breakthrough, for the discovery of new methods or techniques. Good human relationships provide the answer to all our social and psychological problems. A student, Caroline Pomodoro, stated the situation well: "No matter how great the strides of future advancement, it is highly unlikely that there ever will be discovered a synthetic substitute for social feeling. The experiencing of positive relationships is the prerequisite for healthy adjustment and growth." Bettelheim (1950, p. 28) speaks of the "unique gratifying experience that only a genuine human relationship can offer." The condition for self-actualizing persons is love.

The core conditions as they are now known are general and no doubt complex. It is possible that they might be broken down into more specific conditions, much as a general factor may be broken up into group and specific factors. It is also possible that there are other core conditions, which are present in successful therapy and which will become apparent as the present conditions are better isolated, defined, and measured.

SOME FURTHER IMPLICATIONS

There is nothing mysterious about counseling or psychotherapy if it is essentially love. Psychiatrists, psychologists, and other professionals have no monopoly on the conditions for facilitative interpersonal relationships. The practice of psychotherapy doesn't require an M.D. or a Ph.D., or even a B.A. or formal training in psychology. Truax and Carkhuff (1967, pp. 226-232) report a study in which graduate students and lay hospital personnel were trained in 100 hours to levels of the three core conditions approximating the levels of experienced therapists.

The training of counselors and clinical psychologists in diagnosis and research (Carkhuff, Kratochvil, and Friel, 1968) is apparently inconsistent with, and detrimental to the development of, high levels of the facilitating conditions. The training emphasizes the external frame of reference, whereas the conditions require the ability to adopt an internal frame of reference. Training leads to viewing the client as an object, whereas therapy requires that he be viewed as a person. May (1967, p. 47) reports an experience illustrating this effect: "When I played a recording of a psychotherapeutic interview to my large undergraduate course (while I was teaching recently at a university), the students were able quite readily to hear, and say, that the patient at this point was angry, at that point sad, and so on. But when I played the same interview to my small graduate seminar, composed of students with professional training, they were surprisingly less able to hear and discern the patient's feelings. The naive sophomores and juniors could hear the communication from the

patient and perceive what was going on; the sophisticated graduate students, who knew all the dynamics and mechanics of human reactions, gave back to me what they had read in books, formulations of this and that dynamic; their knowledge about human behavior as external discrete facts got in the way of hearing and seeing the person on the tape. This actually made their reactions, empirically speaking, less accurate."*

The offering or implementing of the core conditions in counseling or psychotherapy requires training, but not the kind of training provided in many graduate programs. Such training can apparently be provided in relatively short periods to persons without a college degree or any formal study of psychology. If this is the case, it raises a real question as to whether counseling or psychotherapy is a profession. This question has been dealt with elsewhere (Patterson, 1969).

A significant fact about the facilitating conditions is that they are effective for all kinds of people. As Truax and Carkhuff (1967, pp. 116-117) state it, "the person (whether a counselor, therapist or teacher) who is better able to communicate warmth, genuineness and accurate empathy is more effective in interpersonal relationships no matter what the goal of the interaction (better grades for college students, better interpersonal relations for the counseling center out-patient, adequate personality functioning and integration for the seriously disturbed mental patient, socially acceptable behavior for the juvenile delinquent, or great reading ability for the third grade reading instruction student)." They are, in short, the conditions for self-actualization.

If these conditions are effective with all kinds of people, then they are also appropriate in working with the disadvantaged, among other minority groups with which we are now especially concerned. It is not necessary, as many are contending, that new methods and techniques be discovered — what is necessary is to find people who are capable of offering these conditions, ways of better communicating these conditions, and ways of preparing or encouraging members of these groups to expose themselves to persons offering these conditions. Developing an understanding of individuals in these groups is important, of course, but it is an empathic understanding from an internal frame of reference which is necessary. Efforts to provide training in sociology and anthropology for those working with these groups may be more harmful than helpful, since the approach of these disciplines, as sciences, is to make objects of those studied.

If these conditions are effective with all persons for so many outcomes, are they then the necessary and sufficient conditions for behavior change? Stated this broadly, the answer is negative. The core conditions are not necessary for behavior change. Behavior can be changed in many ways — by drugs, surgery, force and the threat of force, brainwashing, and the like. (It is possible, however, that they are necessary for successful brainwashing [Patterson, 1959, pp. 149-159].)

But when we limit our discussion to voluntary change in the direction of self-actualization, it would appear that these conditions (and perhaps some addi-

* From *Psychology and the Human Dilemma*, by Rollo May. Copyright © 1967, by Litton Educational Publishing, Inc., by permission of Van Nostrand Reinhold Company.

tional conditions yet to be identified or isolated in the therapeutic relationship) may be necessary. Ellis has questioned whether any personal relationship is necessary for personality change, noting that people change through experiences of reading and listening. I have elsewhere (Patterson, 1966, p. 436) suggested that in such cases a strong psychological relationship is present. It is perhaps necessary to note here that the client is an active participant in any change, and that certain conditions must be present in him for change to occur. Our concern here, however, is with the contribution of the counselor to change.

The sufficiency of the conditions is a difficult question. Here the resolution seems to involve the definition of counseling or psychotherapy. While it was noted above that the presence of the conditions can lead to improvement in reading ability, or other cognitive functions, they are not sufficient in the absence of necessary skills or abilities (this does not apply to cases in which skills are present but their use is blocked or inhibited), where skill training, teaching, tutoring or some other ancillary method or opportunity for learning is required. Teaching may be differentiated from counseling or psychotherapy in that in the former the relationship is the medium, while in the latter it is *substance* of the process.

There has been considerable difficulty in defining psychotherapy or counseling in a way which differentiates it from other methods of behavior change. While it may appear to be a circular definition, it is suggested that a definition of counseling or psychotherapy in terms of the core conditions may be empirically sound and practically useful. Thus, *counseling or psychotherapy is a method of behavior change in which the core conditions are the sufficient conditions for change to occur* (Patterson, in press). It is still necessary, however, to differentiate between counseling or psychotherapy and other relationships where these conditions are present and sufficient for the development of aspects of self-actualization, as in parent-child relationships. This may be accomplished by specifying that in counseling or psychotherapy these conditions are provided in a relatively pure, concentrated form, in a relationship which has no other purpose, and with an individual (the client) whose development or achievement of self-actualization has been inhibited, delayed, or blocked by a lack or a low level of these conditions in his life.

Finally, it may be appropriate to note the relationship of these conditions to society and its continued existence or survival. These facilitating conditions of good human relationships constitute the major, basic, enduring or universal values of life. Skinner (1955) notes that, "Eventually the practices which make for the greatest biological and psychological strength of the group will survive." (It would be more appropriate to say that that group will survive which develops and adopts the practices which make for the greatest biological and psychological strength of the group). Again, he states (Skinner, 1953, p. 445): "If a science of behavior can discover those conditions of life which make for the ultimate strength of men, it may provide a set of 'moral values' which, because they are independent of the history and culture of any one group, may be generally accepted." The conditions for facilitative human

A MODEL FOR FACILITATIVE HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

CONDITIONS	GOALS		
	Immediate (Process)	Mediate (Subgoals)	Ultimate
L Empathic understanding O Nonpossessive warmth V Genuineness E Intensity and intimacy of contact Concreteness	Intrapersonal exploration: Self-disclosure Self-exploration Self-awareness	Development of individual potentials: Self-understanding High school graduation College education Employment Satisfaction in work Marriage	Self-actualization, self-realization, or self-enhancement, or Fully Functioning Person: Acceptance of self and others Spontaneity Empathy Deep interpersonal relationships Democraticness Openness to experience Creativity Honesty Responsibility Genuineness Responsible independence Consistency between self and self-ideal

relationships constitute these values. Society could not exist if these conditions did not exist to a minimal degree. These are the values which are necessary if human beings are to live together and survive. If the outlook appears rather gloomy at present, it becomes exceedingly important that these conditions be taught and practiced by an increasingly greater number of individuals, who will act as a leaven in the society. And, perhaps, the evolutionary development of the human race has led to the survival of those who have the potential for developing these conditions.

POSTSCRIPT

The writing of this paper was completed just as Robert F. Kennedy was assassinated. The event was further evidence of the wave of hatred and violence which is spreading in our society. Underlying this wave is an apparent decline in personal responsibility and concern for others.

The current social situation requires more than the elimination of poverty and slums, more than the reduction of dropouts and the provision of training and jobs for the minorities and the disadvantaged. It requires more than the conditioning and reconditioning of specific behaviors, and the desensitization of anxieties. Psychologists must move beyond these limited or mediate goals to accept, and lead the way toward the achievement of, the ultimate goal of mankind by fostering the conditions—or the major condition—which will lead to this goal. As Robert F. Kennedy once phrased it, "It all boils down to love."

This is the major contribution that psychology and psychologists, as psychologists, can and should make. Others can and should take the major responsibility for social and political change (Patterson, in press [a]). The field of psychology is the area of human relationships, and without good human relationships—without love—social and political reforms are but tinkling cymbals.

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HERMAN J. PETERS

*Professor of Education, Ohio State University**Autobiography*

Man's continuing search is for a more meaningful active life. The search for meaning is a cognitive experience. It is basic. However, the complete person must translate that meaning into daily action. I believe that this process is developmental in nature. It has its remedial and therapeutic aspects. It also has its cul-de-sacs, its irrational moments, its reverses. It may be misinterpreted, blocked, or simply observed. However, the continuing search does not end because of these difficulties. They are merely part of the price of the continuing search for an active meaningful life.

I believe my own striving was and is enhanced both at home and at school. I know that my drive is strengthened by setbacks, hurts, and hurdles, provided that they are not so massive as to discourage wholesome goal-oriented behavior. School, from elementary school on, provides opportunities for growth if one has sufficient numbers of teachers who perceive "the real me," rather than the "surface me." Other people often "read into me" their own thoughts, thus subtly distorting their image of me. Therefore, "the real me" soon learns to struggle with self-identity. In the long run — and long it is — other people will go beyond inference to discover "the real me." Their respect will be given gradually in a caring fashion. This long-term kind of experiencing continues in my search for fulfillment.

It seems to me that too many people in our field expect youth to become developmentally fulfilled in their twenties. For many of us, it is taking years and years. Dare we ask more of them? Should not understanding and caring prevail over the instant freeing of one's self? Does not the feeling process take time? Are we failing youth when we encourage instant freeing without equally encouraging the capacities or cultural accoutrements to sustain it? I think so. I think each one of us must be supremely loyal to those who are close to us, our colleagues and our students. I think they, too, should learn to be loyal. This is asking a great deal. Should we not serve as living models to complement and enhance

our conceptual models? Loyalty is demanding — no question about that. Let us and our students remember Hannah Green's *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden*. I have learned, and I hope students learn, that anesthetic contentment is not the goal of living. The goal, instead, is to be free to "fight" for peace and happiness through the reality of *challenge*. Challenge is not met by protestation; challenge is met by activating the good.

It may be trite to say that there are too many youth who prefer to settle for low success rather than risk high failure. Though it may be widely denied, I believe that there are too many in our field who lecture humanistically but retreat from encounter outside of the classroom because the risk is too high. I was fortunate to have had at critical times teachers and professors who took the risk. Has not the reader often participated in classes in which the professor pronounced a benediction on the helping relationship, only to withdraw from a caring attendance to it outside of the classroom?

I had the experience of an apprenticeship in learning. Is that possible today? It is, if one views apprenticeship as a stiff, formal (disguised in informal dress and office procedures) cognitive learning situation. It is not possible if one views apprenticeship as including both the cognitive learning situation and experiences in research, writing, visiting, lecturing, field work, and conventioning. A full apprenticeship does not mean that the teacher or professor insists on the student emulating his every interest. Of course not. Like learning in the classroom, it is a chance — a rare one — for the student to explore the full range of possibilities in his freely-chosen career area through the mentor-apprenticeship approach.

Despite all that has been said to the contrary, I believe the activities with the greatest integrity of purpose are athletics (which I have not experienced) and the military (which I have). In each case the rules are well-known. Maybe this is the key. In each of these activities, the "game" is played hard but with minimal condescension. In each the goal is clearly to enhance achievement, in contrast to the subtle and diffused uplifting of work in education. I wish to state immediately that I believe education to be the noblest of all professions. Jesse Stuart has pointed out that all professions stem from teaching. Guidance is the highest form of educational work because it is concerned with persons directly rather than through the medium of the outer world. I think that one is fortunate if he has had at least a few courageous teachers, administrators, colleagues, and students. I hope my good fortune in this continues during my search for the fullness of humanness.

It is because of the few caring people mentioned above that I have the privilege of writing this for you. I met many of these people before I had even heard of existentialism or recognized the possibility of fulfillment through it. The risk was, and continues to be, great. Satisfying as it is to assist another person in a formal setting — classroom, counseling office, or lecture podium — it cannot be compared to assistance which comes from participation in another person's inner living, without the screen of professional immunity. The cry of the disadvantaged person is not answered by formalized — often false — help but by mutually participatory experiencing. How many of us have experienced this? As educators, we give too much attention to surveys, speeches to large groups, and consultation with prominent organizations. Of course, these are worthy endeavors. But they leave us little time to share with another our inner selves —

The Counselor As a Developer

This paper by Herman Peters emphasizes man's dynamic and developing nature and his striving for authenticity. Peters' views are that education and guidance should seek to develop competent and responsible adults. The learning of subject matter is a central function of the school, but the learning of attitudes, developing balance in one's life, and attaining fulfillment in daily living are equally important.

Peters takes issue with the social reconstruction approach. He describes this as a "procrustean" method and a "denial of the pluralistic system."

The counselor is a developer of human resources who seeks to assist each counselee to optimal fulfillment. He seeks to help each individual become free, "free to be right or wrong regarding their decisions and their life."

THE COUNSELOR ACTIVATES the development of the individual's inner capacities. He brings to life the individual's awareness of his potentialities at this time, in this situation, and of his consequent responsibilities. The counselor participates in the individual's living forward movement in two key areas which I would like to portray by discussing 1) my views on the child and adolescent, and 2) some factors in counselor education related to helping persons become developmental counselors.

THE NATURE OF THE CHILD AND YOUTH

The growth of a child from a kindergarten pupil into a responsible adult is a deeply personal development. It is a highly individualized process, despite its group setting in a mass educational system. The central objective of the educational system should be, must be, to assist each adult aspirant in making himself not only a competent practitioner of the routines of daily living but also in developing himself, as fully as he is capable, to understand and respond to the larger tasks of humanity. These include the important responsibility for the proper use of one's emotional capacities.

The way in which we manage our emotions has a direct effect upon the health of our personality and our body . . . healthy personality calls for the ability to experience and express the full range of human emotion and the ability to control expression at times when other values might be endangered by unrestrained release of feelings (Jourard, 1963, p. 62).

The effective school counselor is and must be involved in young people's personal, social, and emotional concerns. The fact that this is a difficult area of human mastery makes the challenge greater, not less. To attempt to escape from the challenge because of our Puritan heritage, our reluctance to acknowledge and use our emotions positively, is to continue to deny reality. This heritage

... has produced a conception of the human condition in which the individual is committed to maximal effort in the interest of valued achievement under a system of normative order. This system is in the first instance moral, but also, at the societal level, it is embodied in legal norms (Parsons, 1964, p. 240).

In other words, achievement is conceived in intellectual terms but the commitment to it is affective. The resultant discrepancy, if great, causes emotional concern or conflict. Let us first investigate some of the conditions under which young people are growing up today.

The constancy that once characterized people's contacts with each other and the environment — well illustrated by the one-room schoolhouse, the one-church town, the general store—has vanished. Multiple contacts, not only within one's immediate geographical area but in relation to the entire world, bring many varied forces to bear on the individual. In fact, it is now the individual who is the constant, within a context of numerous and changing variables. No longer can the individual look to his surroundings to find the ballet of balance. He will find only the ballet of change. Of course, the individual, too, is changing, but his changes are contained within his own constancy as a dynamic system. There is a constant force in the individual toward maintaining equilibrium and balance. With the shift in constancy from the environment to the individual, the focus of responsibility has also shifted from outside events to the individual. As irrelevant, prejudicial outer restraints are removed, one becomes more and more responsible for his own behavior.

It should be kept in mind that though learning the subject matter is the central objective of the classroom, the attitudinal function, invisible and at times latent, of classroom participation is the determinant of one's standing in his class and his perception of himself as a developing responsible person. In the minimally differentiated structure of the elementary school, there is a narrow band of distinct choices available. One's behavioral reactions to the elementary school situation often go counter to adult expectations because there is really no variety of choice. The available choices usually, if not always, fall within a well-defined context predetermined by the teacher.

Adolescents, paradoxically, rebel against dependency on and conformity to parental systems, only to substitute a fierce conformity and deep involvement in peer relationships. They yearn to make real choices in what appears to them to be a closed system of behavior. The slowness and unevenness with which this change takes place are personal concerns of far greater interest to the adolescent than the subject matter taught by Miss English or Mr. History.

In his search for his authentic being, the healthy adolescent is not seeking final adjustment. He is becoming aware of the possibility of openness in human relationships and of a continuing dialogue with others. He now finds himself in existence with others, and is concerned about his being in relation to others. Maritain states that, "this concept of existence, of to-exist (*esse*), is not and cannot be cut off from the absolutely primary concept of being" (Maritain, 1956, p. 33).

Like the collisions of a warm weather mass with a cold air movement, and the consequent release of energy, the fusion of the self's awareness of being and the social awareness of others causes a turbulence of high order in adolescence. To neglect guidance of adolescents in this area of living at this time in their lives is to render sterile educational and vocational guidance. The mature person arrives at responsible selfhood by a blending of being and existing with others. In striving to maintain the balance of an ongoing system, the individual seeks ways to adjust to the "tightrope" of living. His actions and reactions may be the best he knows. If he is to act in a way that is selfishly exciting and socially responsive, he must have a framework for living. To know about specific behavior is not enough. One must know how specific behavior can have an impact on one's general mode of living.

As a person increasingly takes charge of his own life, it becomes important to consider his affective nature. It is one's emotional nature which makes his intellect viable and excites his intellectual potential. It is this nature which makes it possible for a person to live fully rather than merely to exist. To live fully, man must transcend the confinement of himself. He must become aware of the universality of human being and existing, and must realize that his being is encompassed by the existing of others. If he feels (not thinks) negatively, he may attempt to withdraw from society, or seek the ultimate desertion in mental illness or suicide.

The individual adolescent must continuously reconcile his freedom with his concomitant responsibilities, and the balance is always changing in keeping with his growth and developmental patterns. An authentic education and effective guidance assist the individual to gain the necessary insights to deal with changing situations.

UNDERSTANDING THE SEARCH FOR BALANCE¹

Man, in the totality of his being, learns to reconcile his discontinuities. To find balance in being, one must look beyond one's immediate experiencing. Just as in driving an automobile, *one is experiencing the present moment and also anticipating the future*, each person must look beyond the present to the deeper existential integrative reason for being. It is in the union of knowing and experimenting that one continues to search for himself. This searching is a continuing process and involves a future-oriented perspective.

Throughout early childhood, the emergence of the "self" is characterized by the differentiation of functions involving being and relating to others. The child is discovering his individual autonomy, as well as his physical autonomy. He is gaining a sense of awareness of what he wants to do. He experiments with this in play, and later in school.

The (self) and the "surrounding" world are co-original. A certain amount of "op-position" is an integral part of his self-discovery. This is the time that he becomes afraid in the dark. When the lights go out, the objects disappear. When the objects disappear, his self seems to disappear. His very existence is at stake (Boelen, 1962, p. 6).

¹ Boelen, 1962.

In the specificity of being and relating, the child is finding cues which will later, in additive form, contribute to his being—himself. He will then move from the security of objects outside of himself to an inner security. Too often, however, the transition results in inner insecurity. This in and of itself is a sound basis for social-personal guidance in the school, with emphasis on this developmental stage in the junior high school.

Adolescence is the emergence of the spirit, of the sense of the self as a distinct, singularly unique being. Adolescence is the process of tuning from the security afforded by the outer world to that of being with and relating to others, and of learning to regard these relations as supportive and supplementary rather than basic and complementary.

Authentic selfhood is emerging in adolescence even though it is not visibly evident. The adolescent's recognition of the inwardness of being startles him into doubting the reliability of people and things he depended on in childhood for security. He is hampered by awkwardness in relating, as well as in functioning physically. He begins to doubt adults, and often, though he hears them, does not listen. For a time he is in the abyss of despair over being disillusioned by people and things he once thought to be firm and fixed. His continuing development requires a value system to give authenticity to his being. The lack of such values leads to the phenomenon of the "lost generation," beatnik adolescent—fixated behavior. This cynical behavior may lead to stagnation or depression as the adolescent moves chronologically, if not developmentally, into adulthood.

Youth and early adulthood involve the integration of being and existing with others. The person needs opportunities to examine his newly manifested selfhood. He engages in inner dialogue with himself. He also yearns for dialogue with others, including the school counselor. The positive outcome of this process of integrating and finding oneself is a part of the continuing creation of a responsible adult. The school counselor, through the counseling process, assists the individual in reaching toward an authentic identity. The school counselor is a developer of human resources.

COUNSELOR EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENTAL COUNSELORS²

Theory and Practice

If the future school counselor is to be a developer of human resources, how should he be educated? This paper will attempt to develop an appropriate approach for the counselor educator to the apprentice counselor's training, with particular attention to work with the socially, economically, and educationally disadvantaged and underadvantaged. But in order to know where we are going, we must know where we are. So let us begin with a short survey of the current state of counselor education:

There has traditionally been among academics a gulf, or rivalry, between theoreticians and practitioners. The effects of this division among educators

² For another view based on the school counselor as a social actionist and reconstructionist, which served as a stimulus for this section, see the reference to Anthony C. Riccio at the end of this paper.

and counselors have been varied and serious, but suffice it to say that, in general, the academic rewards have gone to the theorists and the financial rewards to the practitioners, and that communication between the two factions has been minimal.

Now, for two closely related reasons, the distinction between theory and practice is blurring, and possibly disappearing. First, professors in all fields and of all persuasions are being engaged increasingly often as consultants on social problems. And, second, there is increasing recognition that many apparently psychological problems are basically social in origin. It would be difficult to determine the exact relationship between these two phenomena. Undoubtedly, increased theoretical recognition of the social causes of psychological dysfunction has compelled educators and counselors to involve themselves in alleviating social problems. And this increased participation in the lives of non-middle-class people has in turn enhanced professional awareness of the debilitating effects of social pressures.

If professors are to concern themselves with social problems, they must give equal attention to theory and practice. Poorly conceptualized practice is not helpful, and will be bitterly remembered by the consultant's clients long after his low fee is forgotten. Furthermore, a counselor's theoretical orientation determines how he defines and approaches a problem and, in fact, whether he deems it a problem in the first place. What is a problem in one theoretical camp is not necessarily a problem from another position. Also, how one focuses on a problem varies according to one's theoretical stance. This is well illustrated by Haberman:

Researchers and writers define the disadvantaged using a variety of conceptual schemes. Sociologists concerned with group behavior and interaction tend to use concepts related to the process of alienation. The means by which selected individuals become detached from their primary groups and the processes by which subgroups become disaffected and move into conflict with the majority group are a major emphasis of those who study alienation. Psychologists and others whose major unit of study is the individual rather than the group are more likely to utilize the concept of dependency than alienation in delimiting the disadvantaged (Haberman, 1966, p. 48).

But much of the prevailing theory is middle-class-oriented and thus obsolete. The individual does not live in a vacuum, but in a human and material situation. Our notions of the self-actualizing, fully functioning person, and the like, treat the individual as if he lived in a context-free and contact-free situation.

COUNSELOR FOR WHAT PURPOSE

Some writers have suggested that the counselor should ignore theory as obsolete, and should concentrate fully on helping the individual to accept and adjust to the dominant society. In my opinion, this is a denial of the pluralistic system. It is a procrustean, manipulative, and unjust approach. Its advocates base their arguments on what *most* counselors have agreed to be the persistent

needs of youth. But these needs can be called universal only if one uses terms so general as to preclude recognition of the uniqueness of individuals and of the times. How effective is counseling which assists a youth to choose a course of action which will lead him to a life of frustration and possible consequent personal or social violence? Counselors who undertake such a role are confusing democratic principles with middle-class values.

How, then, should we go about working with the disadvantaged? How can we avoid imposing our values on others? How should we go about fulfilling the American dream of optimal personal fulfillment limited only by respect for the rights of others? And how should we educate future counselors to prepare them as developers of human potential?

QUESTIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS

I have given thought and *felt* deeply about my responsibility to participate in the development of counselor-apprentices, and have decided that I must begin by postulating tentative working responses (not final answers) to two questions:

1. What assumptions underlie my belief that counselors should become developers of human resources?
2. Is there any evidence that counselors can help to develop human beings who can "spin off" successfully into their own orbits of living?

Assumptions

The position that the counselor should become a developer of human resources assumes that no set of values is superior to another set of values. The idea of superiority as a linear concept is obsolete. What is necessary is respect for pluralism. This is not the same as assuming that one should not attempt to influence another at all, or that it is impossible to avoid imposing one's middle-class values. We must acknowledge, however, that most counselors and counselor educators are middle-class-bound and thus, despite liberal attitudes and relationships with social action groups, highly conservative. Many advocates of open-mindedness are behaviorally closed-minded, and the same is true of many who project a liberal image. My point is not that counselors lead schizoid existences — counseling one way and living another (although it is disturbing to see university consultants working in areas with severe social problems and escaping to suburbia at night). It is that counselors and counselor educators are basically docile, fearful, guarded persons, who find both safety and power in the counseling interview. The repeated calls for militancy and for definition of the counselor's role substantiate this view. Perhaps rather than seeking to develop a single professional role or set of functions, we should examine variable roles.

My first assumption is that it is possible for the counselor educator to be congruent both cognitively and affectively. Many counselor educators are congruent cognitively but not affectively. It is possible to establish definite and demonstrable relationships between what we preach as counselor edu-

cators and how we live *totally* as human beings — not just how we deliver lectures or behave in organizational meetings, but *totally*. Congruence is not an additive concept.

I realize that this would take courage, and that courage is a rather archaic concept today, with the dominance of the government, professional organizations, grant money and faltering educational administrations. And I am proposing this not as a matter of principle, but as a question of conscience. It needs to be examined, rather than validated or endorsed. I am thinking through my own concern with conscience, and have come to some tentative conclusions which I feel I should profess to students in counselor preparation. I believe that to have an impact on students I must not merely talk but live fully the life style I have chosen. Then the student can more readily understand the implications of the values I profess and the nature of the career he has chosen and whose consummation he hopes will lead to fulfillment and integrity.

What are these values I believe in so strongly? They are pluralistic values. I believe that the middle-class values system — white Anglo-Saxons, modest incomes, Puritan virtues — is archaic. It fit well into the scheme of things when the social system was monolithic or, at best, dualistic. It was the invention of a uniform society. I see no reason why a person today cannot have a decent home, a worthy job and income, a good education and yet retain the ethical, spiritual, and ethnic values of his heritage. Why must one abandon one's heritage in order to eat, to live decently, to work or receive an education? The archaic middle-class procrustean approach only reconstructs the great tragedy from which we are trying to emerge.

1. I believe that every American should have an opportunity for the best education which will enhance his person, that is, the best education he can absorb. It is the job of the counselor to help every youth share this belief in a pluralism of educational opportunities. This is vastly different from suggesting that everyone must go to college. College should be available for those who want it and will profit from it (I am never sure quite how we determine either of these prerequisites).

2. I believe that every American should have the opportunity to work, and should be able to assume, despite automation, that work is a basic aspect of living. I believe counselors must come to grips with the contradiction between the schools' emphasis on maximum output and the decreasing reliance on human labor in the world of work. This is the same old story — we preach one thing in school, and do another outside of school.

3. I believe that every American should prefer to be healthy. Health involves a good breakfast, a hot lunch, medical care, and much, much more. One must be mentally healthy, too, and I think that mental health should be defined positively as well as therapeutically.

4. I believe that every American must think about the appropriate use of his time, including leisure time. We have neglected this area of guidance.

5. I believe that positions on social issues should be based first on a

coherent philosophy of life, then on hard research data, and finally on a reconciliation of the two. Dependence on research data alone is a result of an American tendency to try to quantify the human spirit. Also, what is considered hard research data at one point in time is not necessarily so considered at another time. For example, counselees contemplating early marriage used to be advised to wait until they had finished their educations, because of the very real difficulties involved in trying to do both. Today, however, married student housing and other advances have changed the situation.

6. I believe that human misery and social injustice should be obliterated. However, I do not believe that one form of social injustice should be replaced by another—middle-classness. I believe that counselors should elevate the human spirit by participating in life, not simply being a consultant to it, with a quick retreat to the citadel of the suburbs.

7. I believe that the individual must be visible in contemporary life. This is not achieved through the collectivism of the middle class. Visibility implies compassionate attentiveness to others, regardless of their deviation from the historical norm of middle-classness.

8. I believe that persons involved in the mutuality of human development, e.g., counseling and teaching, have not only a calling, but a duty to live this calling. I believe that to be in the vanguard of society is not merely to endorse advancement from one level of living to a higher one. This is "Uncle Tomism" in its subtlest and worst form.

9. I believe that each American must regain a vision of the tremendous importance of the public school—partially accomplished by Sputnik—and must support it financially. Professions of support are all right, but we need to implement that support on the scale necessary for a model civilization. We seem to be able to organize our energies to kill. Why can we not do so to educate?

The second assumption I must make is that my colleagues and students are willing to listen to, and to think out, the arguments in this paper. Few people would oppose increased career opportunities for "minority" persons (what is a minority—another myth?) or more alternatives for counseling outcomes. The point is that we have preached ourselves into a social depression when we should have been reaching for creative opportunities.

The question is not, "Are we fooling ourselves when we maintain that we don't really care what course of action a counselee decides upon just so long as he has made his own decision?" The question should be, "Do we care enough to become mutually involved in counseling, and to point out not only alternatives but what is often more important, their fringe impact (to the best of our ability, which is not to say that counselors are prophets), and then to let the counselee decide—as he will anyway?" The final decision on any matter is going to reside with the counselee. I think the counselor must share all available data, not just that which enhances the existing social structure or the counselor's intimate personal value system.

The third assumption I must make is that the setting in which the counselor works and the community in which he lives will permit him to function as a developer of human resources. In the not-too-distant past this would have been an invalid assumption, because the counselor was expected simply to "adjust" the counselee. But due to recent Supreme Court decisions, positive federal and state legislation, active teacher participant programs, and positive ministerial work, counseling has come more into harmony with our espoused democratic heritage.

EVIDENCE

Much of the recent progress is *not* due to educators and social scientists. Let us give credit where it is due. Politicians have led the way. Educators and social scientists are stumbling over each other to show interest. On the contemporary scene, few, if any, school counselors and counselor educators have truly helped to bring about many social changes. Often they have simply been asked to endorse what has already been decided. Cited below are projects with which counselors and developers with whom I am familiar have been intimately involved:

1. One of the most significant educational developments in recent years is the excellent Basic Adult Education program, which quietly helps all who need it to gain at least a minimal education and a sense of dignity.

2. A second recent educational development is the excellent elementary school counselor effort in the inner city. Under able and enthusiastic leadership, it is going on without fanfare.

3. The Plans for Progress program approach for a vocational guidance seminar with educators, industrial leaders, and businessmen is excellent. This is a developmental project, not a reconstruction plan.

4. Another example of effective development is the work being done jointly by vocational educators, state guidance supervisors, and counselor educators in furthering vocational education and job opportunities. This is developmental, not reconstructionist, in approach.

5. The Bureau of Employment Services, Department of Labor, is a real leader in creative guidance. This is being done in many directions, e.g., MDTA, Books-Jobs Project, seminars in addition to its regular testing and counseling programs. One of the most impressive aspects of guidance programming is the comprehensive efforts for youth done by the Youth Opportunity Centers in the Department of Labor.

6. Another dramatic example of helping youth is in the tutorial program operation in a number of places.

I want to emphasize that the above projects, and more, are in operation to assist youth and, in particular, the socially and economically disadvantaged. There is no doubt that much more needs to be done. We must act. The effectiveness of the projects listed above may be attributed in part to the fact that they have received little public attention and thus do not have to cope with negative reaction.

THE COUNSELOR AS A DEVELOPER

The phrase "quality education for all our students" is a catchall. To argue against it would be like being against home and motherhood. However, the problems implied in the phrase are not so simple. It is questionable whether legislation which provides for counselors and sees them as agents for change, subduers of discontent, or agents of the therapeutic state can bring about quality education. If one examines each piece of relevant legislation, one notices that the counselor is not really free. He is expected to be a manipulator (in the worse sense of the word) to fulfill the needs of the society. How can one counsel with predetermined restrictive goals? Goals are necessary, but in an open sense, not a closed one.

I have tried to point out some of the work that can be done locally by counselors who view themselves as developers of human resources. Actually, the affixing of labels—disadvantaged, minority youth, etc.—is condescending and encourages the hardening of categories at the very time we are working to make society more flexible. Those who shout, "I'm working with the disadvantaged," do them a great disservice. The legitimate posture of the counselor is to help each child and youth develop his fullest capacities. "Do-gooder" plans which segregate, regardless of their noble objectives, continue subtly the very conditions they are designed to alleviate. What is needed is developmental counseling whose concern is for a person in society, not in an artificially designated group.

No one need be a loser as a person in contemporary society. All must be winners within the limits of their health and capacity for doing. And I think that there is ample evidence to show that, except for the severely handicapped, factors relevant to success often are not those listed in guidance textbooks.

Effecting change in the behavioral patterns of counselees is a multi-dimensional operation. The counselor cannot and should not merely reconstruct the phenomenal field of the counselee. This is manipulation at its worst. Before the counselor can engage in dimensional developmental counseling, he must forget the sickness model posited by most counseling theories and replace it with a model of wellness. He must study all of the vectors impinging on dimensional counseling. He must not think that because he has a life confrontation, he is at a peak life style, for if he does, he will talk loudly but act infrequently. He must risk penetrating stereotypes. He must risk the whole of his living.

THE COUNSELOR AS A PERSON

The counselor is a developer of the human capacity to reach optimal fulfillment in daily living. To achieve this, one must have sufficient positive enthusiastic experiences of living that one may negotiate daily living with the vibrancy of celebration. Decency and dignity in the home, in education, and in career development provide the areas for peak experiences.

Peak experiences make the person feel integrated. Integration brings a

feeling of personhood. Functioning becomes pleasant and effective. Thus, peak experiences enhance a person's completeness in living. They underscore one's humanness and authenticity. Peak experiences cause a person to esteem himself and others (Maslow, 1961, pp. 59-67).

The counselor as a developer seeks to reconcile controls on behavior and intensive efforts to free the individual. Freeing and controlling procedures are interviewed in the operations. In early childhood more controlling procedures are used. Developmentally and in spiraling fashion, the individual, with the assistance of the counselor, seeks the removal of limits upon individual behavior, through such means as creative writing classes. "The guidance practitioner must impose upon students the task of pre-considering—in advance of need—difficult issues they are shortly to encounter. But once this necessary unposition has been made, it becomes equally necessary to provide students absolute freedom to form, state, or even to maintain their old values, "right" or "wrong," regarding what they might do when faced with a troublesome issue in the future. Although any attempt to assure change impedes the educational process, to assure consideration facilitates that process. By analogy, unposition of rehearsals is no infringement upon the personal freedom of actors. But excessive directing and prompting—if carried to the point of making sure the first and every subsequent rehearsal is error-free—is clearly an obstacle to the actor "preparation" (Field, 1967, pp. 235-236).

The counselor as a developer assists the student to establish self-identity within the dimensions of honesty and trust, and to reach decisions and use decision-making skills to enhance his living. The counselor gives responsible encouragement to the student to seek opportunities which will facilitate the maximum use of his capacities in his striving to become the best possible person. The counselor assists each to become an *au courant* person, capable of intimacy and socially responsible.

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Autobiography

In the fall of 1966, Indiana State University invited me to become its first Distinguished Professor, a chair named after R. W. Holmstedt, the retiring president of Indiana State University. This position offered the added incentive of allowing me to teach graduate courses half-time and devote the remaining time to activities of my choice. This new position posed a unique problem. I could at last work on projects which I had postponed for lack of time — and suddenly, these projects did not seem so important as they once did. After recovering from the shock, I soon became involved in a project to investigate how we could develop certain experiences into simulations, using in-basket and one-to-one relationships with coached people. The simulation activities have grown each year. The present objective is a modified "systems" approach, including definition of behavioral goals, development of simulation materials and processes, and a systematic evaluation of outcomes. In all probability, the present line of exploration and inquiry could occupy much of my time prior to retirement.

As I reflect upon how I got where I am from where I began, I sense how many people and events played some part in the process.

Beginning in 1953, the School of Education of the University of Michigan was willing to give a full-time counselor educator a free hand in developing pre-practicum experiences for graduate students in the counselor education program. Within two years, I had reached full professor status, always an achievement in academia. The next thirteen years involved a series of trial-and-error experiences with the practicum. Certainly, some of the vision in the employment of a full-time practicum manager and supervisor was due to Dr. Harlan C. Koch, a scholar of the old school and extremely communicative. He had a pervasive influence on whatever success I had during this phase of my career. Also during this period, I served as president of the NVGA and APGA, experiences that re-

moved me as a professional threat in the politics of organizations. Incidentally, the last three years at the University of Michigan were spent as chairman of the Guidance and Counseling Department, a term sufficiently long to confirm my discomfort with the workings of a bureaucracy and with administrative detail.

Although my employment at the University of Missouri lasted only six years, from 1947 to 1953, it was an extremely significant period of my life. Given a relatively free hand as state counselor trainer and for six months as acting supervisor of guidance services for the state department of education, I became involved in many planning activities at state and national levels. Implementing a state certification plan and helping to develop a vigorous program for graduate education in guidance and counseling were invaluable experiences. During this six-year period, associations with graduate faculty (especially Robert Callis and Paul C. Polmantier) and students were probably more critical to my personal and professional development than at any other time in my career.

Prior to my experience at Missouri, I served successively at Hamline University (1943-1945) as professor of education, director of placement, and a general counselor for non-majors; and at Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburgh (1945-1947) as director of counseling. In both instances, the work demands were excessive — at Hamline University there were endless duties (even including teaching a college math course), and at KSTC I was involved in counseling World War II veterans at a rate far in excess of sound professional standards. My baptism to professional associations and several lauds in psychology and counseling I owe to a colleague, Donald E. Swanson, at Hamline University.

My professional experience began with eight years (1935-1943) in the schools of Manitowoc and Racine, Wisconsin. My duties included math and science teaching, coaching, serving as class advisor, sponsoring extra-class activities, homeroom guidance, and for one year acting as general troubleshooter and "counselor" to a group of students who were habitual academic failures. Also during this period, I obtained M.A. and Ph.D. degrees at Northwestern University. The latter degree was expedited with an All-University Fellowship for one academic year, 1940-41.

I attended public schools in Wisconsin — in Crandon, Laona, and Antigo — and for two years in Cloquet, Minnesota. In the secondary schools, I became involved in quite a variety of activities, including band and orchestra, student government, the school newspaper and annual, football, and basketball. Upon graduation from high school, I had the choice of accepting a music scholarship or playing football. Wisely or not, I chose the latter, and enrolled at Lawrence College, majoring in math and physics. James L. Mursell, from whom I took a course in educational psychology, became a professional model for me. I graduated in 1935 and, fortunately, found a teaching-coaching position.

Four days before I began work as a teacher, I married Grace Belle Raettig, who had also attended Lawrence College. We had dated since our high school days. Our oldest daughter, Bonnie, was born in 1942, followed by Edward Dean, Marcia, and Laura. The three oldest are now young adults, all of them having one or more degrees from the University of Michigan.

Before discussing my early childhood, I might mention work experiences which helped pay for my education and other expenses. During high school, I

picked cherries and dug potatoes, in addition to a variety of jobs at a pea-canning factory. During college, I was employed in restaurants as a dishwasher, busboy, waiter, and counterman, in a private home raking lawns, shoveling sidewalks, and doing other handyman's jobs, as a steel-layer for a road construction firm, and in a fraternity house as a housekeeper and waiter.

Childhood was quite normal except for the economic trauma of the Depression; however, everyone was "in the same boat," so my experiences were not unique. I was an only child. After I was born, in Rhineland, Wisconsin, in 1913, we moved to a small town, Crandon, where I attended the first five years of elementary school. My father was the oldest child in a very large family. He left school in the 10th grade to assist his father in operating a hardware store. My mother had attended Carroll College, taught school for a short period, and worked in a general store before marrying my father. He worked the early years of his life in retail hardware stores, and then became a wholesale hardware salesman. During the Depression, my mother was quite active as a dress-maker. General economic conditions precluded many luxuries or unnecessary expenditures.

Attempting to recollect significant early childhood experiences is always difficult, but I do recall that as a preschool child I had a running feud with a neighbor's rooster — an extremely hostile bird. I remember becoming separated from my mother downtown and finding my way home (some twelve or more blocks); I remember that my father's hardware job then included selling Maxwell care, and that whenever we were to go for a ride an axle was broken; I remember two men who were feuding "shooting it out" over my head, and fishing trips to the Deerskin River in Northern Wisconsin (especially the succession of flat tires). Of my adolescence, I remember the occasion when I froze my feet playing hockey in tight shoe skates; having pneumonia and being absent from school six weeks; being prom chairman and working night and day to put on an undersea prom; the spectacular football game my junior year in high school when we won the conference championship; the rainy trip to Canada when I had to keep my foot on a hole in the floor so water wouldn't spurt up at us when we hit the water holes in the road, and the social activities with girls (and especially with the one I later married).

The college years did involve some activities; however, I remember them more for a succession of jobs and for some of the staff members at Lawrence University who were most understanding.

My urge to enter the teaching profession seemed to surface during the 9th grade, and became stronger during the senior high school years. From a predictive point of view, one teacher in the 8th grade announced to my class that I would be lucky to graduate from high school. (Her criterion, I think, was my tendency to thwart some of her teaching goals.) Another teacher hit me between the eyes with an eraser from thirty paces after a slight misunderstanding about my verbal spontaneity.

After teaching one year, I enrolled in the graduate school at Northwestern. Perhaps my initial enrollment was something of an accident. However, the longer I taught, the more I realized how much I needed to learn to become a master teacher. Gradually, this realization turned into a desire to work more effectively

with pupils of all kinds. (By then I was teaching in a school with many ethnic groups: in five classes of about 40 pupils each, I had 41 nationalities and races.) There was no counselor education program then, and I concentrated more and more upon the few guidance and counseling courses available and on psychology, sociology, economics, statistics, and research. Particularly helpful in my graduate work were Louis Webb, S. A. Hamrin, A. R. Gilliland, Eugene Lawler, and a sociologist by the name of Todd whose initials escape me.

Leaving secondary school teaching and entering college work at Hamlin University exacted an economic penalty. There were few positions in counselor education, so I began college work as a full professor and chairman of the one-man Department of Education. It took me five years to work myself into a position as assistant professor at the University of Missouri, and eight years to reach a full professorship at the University of Michigan. I hope that this account of my unique progression in rank will cause young colleagues facing frustrations in academia to take heart.

Since my first contributions to professional publications, I have perceived myself as a translator of theory into practice. A few publications (three in collaboration with other professionals) would seem to fit into the category of contributions: *Occupational Information*, three revisions (with Max F. Baer); *Organization and Administration of Guidance Services* (with Glenn E. Smith and Clifford E. Erickson); *A Casebook of Counseling* (with Robert Callis and Paul C. Polmantier); *The School Counselor, Orientation to the Job of Counselor, Interpreting Guidance Programs to School Personnel*, and *A Strategy for Guidance* (with Garry R. Walz). In addition, I have had opportunities to publish articles in some of the professional journals; to assist in developing films and a series of television programs; to consult with government agencies, and to speak at state conferences, institutes, and meetings of professional associations.

The Development of Viable Guidance Programs

Responding to statements and questions that counselors, teachers and administrators pose, Edward C. Roeber clarifies his stand on a number of crucial issues today.

Roeber notes that in order to more meaningfully understand the school as a social system, we need to look at the social transactions which occur among those engaged in the educational enterprise. A series of observations regarding the school and its social system are offered to guide the reader's thinking. Most challenging for future directional trends in guidance and counseling is the series of observations concerning the school counselor's tasks and functions within that social system.

Several writers within this book have noted the difficulties of defining goals for the guidance program. Roeber asks counselors to consider the establishment of goals in behavioral terms, rather than adopting such ill-defined goals as self-actualization. The outcomes would "possibly clarify" counselor role expectations.

ORGANIZED ATTEMPTS to discover and meet the needs of each pupil have, at least partially, been associated with the development of adequate guidance and pupil personnel programs. Surveying our successes and failures gives me mixed feelings. It may be only natural to be more concerned with our failures than our successes. I have also periodically received reinforcement to consider failures during visits to schools in various states throughout the nation. Repeatedly, over the past twenty years or more, I have encountered the same queries and statements from counselors, teachers, and administrators. The following questions represent the tenor of their concerns:

- I am responsible for counseling 600 students. What am I supposed to do with that many of them?
- How do I counsel students when they are in classes or other activities all day long?
- What do I do when teachers send pupils to me for disciplinary reasons?
- The counselor always takes the student's part and never listens to me. Whose side is he on?
- How can I convince my counselors that helping students choose and enroll in courses is an essential part of their work? (from an administrator)
- How can we justify hiring more counselors when our school needs more teachers in order to reduce class loads? (from administrators and teachers)
- Assuming equal experience and preparation, should counselors be paid more money than teachers? Why?
- I have sent students to the counselor but nothing happens. What gives? (from a teacher)

If we can assume that these kinds of questions and statements reflect the status of guidance program development, we may learn some important lessons from our failures. In spite of growth in the numbers of counselors and more favorable counselor-pupil ratios today than ever before, each generation of school personnel has apparently faced similar dilemmas without resolving them. If there is merit in the assumption that these questions reflect unnecessary early stagnation in program development, where have we gone wrong? What is there about schools that keeps so many guidance and pupil personnel programs at primitive levels of development? What strategies might reduce tendencies for programs to stagnate and even, in some instances, to regress?

In this paper it is my purpose to focus attention on my struggle to perceive the problems inherent in these questions and to clarify, in my thinking at least, a few alternatives available to school personnel.

THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

When queried about a particular school, lay people and even professional educators at times are likely to discuss the facilities, the number of teachers, the nature of the curriculum, the behavior of the students, or the prowess of

the athletic team. In attempts to quantify or describe a school, we frequently neglect the social interactions and transactions among students, teachers, administrators, custodians, office clerks, cafeteria personnel, school board members, and bus drivers, as well as parents and other individuals in the community. If we could develop a deeper awareness of the intricacies of the school's social system, we would have a more meaningful understanding of a particular school than any quantitative résumé could provide. We might not only better understand the school, but might also find ways in which to effect orderly, needed changes in a social system as complex as that of a school.

Observations of schools, in addition to theories and studies supplied by several disciplines, provide us with some inferences regarding the characteristics of schools' social systems. I have made no attempt to rank or indicate the relative potency of these characteristics.

Formal Plans

Schools have always had formal arrangements for organization. The traditional line of organization for the school system runs from the public to the school board, superintendent of schools, principals, teachers, and pupils. Other facets of the program, such as buses, food, and clerical and custodial services, have individual hierarchies or chains of command. Likewise, various central office personnel, such as supervisors, consultants, directors, or assistant administrators, have unique organizational relationships to other school personnel. Counselors have perceived themselves as on the same level in the hierarchy as teachers, an opinion not always shared by other school personnel or by those who use the services of counselors. The relationships of most school personnel have thus been diagrammed in some formal arrangement, one that has met at least with tacit approval by school personnel and the public.

Informal Arrangements

Anyone who has worked in a school knows that many social interactions and transactions do not follow formal patterns of organization. Because of personal and professional arrangements, groups of teachers and other school personnel become forces for change or are resistant to change. These alliances may be visible to all school personnel or may "operate" rather subtly. In any case, these informal arrangements influence decision-making processes and the ways decisions are implemented or "sabotaged."

Some Further Observations Regarding Schools

An examination of several sources suggests a number of meaningful inferences regarding social systems. These inferences have some research behind them; however, there is a scarcity of research directly associated with these inferences in particular and with guidance program development in general. At this time, therefore, they are not full-blown theories, but only inferences which have some meaning for me as I reflect upon our successes and failures in the development of guidance programs.

Territorial prerogative. Man apparently defends his territory, both physical and psychological, in a manner similar to that of other animals.¹ Within the social system of the school, each member stakes out his own territory based on innumerable variables such as tenure, professional preparation, and status in the profession and community. A teacher, for example, may resist having to shift his classroom or to give up duties that have become habitual and/or satisfying. English teachers, for instance, rather than defending their individual territories, may band together and defend their collective territory against other teachers seeking a reduction in required English courses or changes in the English curriculum. Likewise, teachers in a particular school may collectively defend a common territory against the inroads of individuals whom they feel would destroy or dilute the educational program. (These territorial "rights," of course, can also be defended by various groups of lay people in addition to professionals in schools.)

When a counselor is introduced into an existing educational program, he is faced with adjusting to or changing the territories of teachers, administrators, and other school personnel. Because of his preparation and experience, a counselor may expect that he, also, has the right to personal territory. However, he soon discovers that his territory, as he perceives it, is challenged by other members of the school staff. Some of these territorial disputes may be resolved quickly and painlessly through mutual respect and communication — others may persist and create resistance to the counselor and his work. Although this territorial jostling is characteristic when new personnel are introduced into a social system, a counselor is especially vulnerable to territorial misunderstandings because of his pervasive relationships with pupils, teachers, parents, administrators, and others in the school and community.

Roles in a social system. The term "role" originated in the social sciences and has taken on many meanings (Bentley, 1965, and Sarbin, 1954). This proliferation of meaning makes necessary some clarification before I use the term. Two facets of role seem to be appropriate for this discussion: 1) *role expectations*, the patterns of social behavior expected of an individual who occupies a particular position or has status in a social system (these expectations may be his own or those of others; and 2) *role behaviors*, the actual ways in which an individual performs the obligations and duties of his position in a social system.

In spite of weaknesses in research designs, there is undeniable evidence that the counselor's role expectations (his own and those of others) are not congruent. A particular counselor may feel that he has certain professional obligations to perform, and these obligations are not always in accord with the expectations of teachers, administrators, parents, pupils, or even at times other counselors. In addition, this particular counselor may have expectations regarding the obligations or duties of his colleagues, the pupils, and the parents

¹ An exposition of how animals defend an area or "stake out" a territory of special significance to them is reported in Robert Ardrey, *The Territorial Imperative* (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1966). My conclusions regarding man are inferences which seem appropriate based upon personal observations and experiences.

which are not congruent with their personal or group expectations. These occasions when expectations differ can become sources of conflict or, at least, misunderstanding.

Perhaps equally confusing is the question of whether an individual member of a social system can or should effect change in the role expectations associated with his position. To what extent, for example, should a counselor's role expectations be shaped by administrators, teachers, parents, and pupils? Or should they be shaped by professional associations, institutions of higher education, or some other such authoritative source? Or is the shaping of role expectations a private matter for the counselor, one which requires him to convert other members of the social system to his personal set of role expectations? These kinds of questions have not been resolved to the satisfaction of all school personnel. Thus, the disparities among role expectations continue to hamper communication and encourage misunderstanding of the work of the counselor.

Much of the preceding discussion regarding role expectations applies to role behaviors as well, except that the latter are not self-reported beliefs but tangible, demonstrated behaviors. In a sense, role behaviors are the "acid test" of what members of a social system really value most. A counselor, for example, who says one thing and does something else because of pressures, ignorance, or expediency may foster and reinforce discontinuity among the role expectations of other members of the social system, and some members are likely to be unhappy about the counselor's work. If another counselor's role behaviors adhere closely to his role expectations, but both are out of harmony with the role expectations of other members of the social system, he is working under equally discordant conditions. Fortunately, the social systems in most schools seldom reach extreme disharmony of role expectations.

Social autonomy and change. The development of guidance and pupil personnel programs in the schools of America has paralleled the development of all other facets of educational programs. In general, local schools (supported, of course, by state and federal funds) have historically determined the quantity and quality of educational opportunities for pupils. Although this local option for determining program development seems inefficient at times, there also seems to be little sentiment for granting more than limited policy-making powers to state and federal governments—and those that have been granted have, theoretically at least, been intended to encourage minimum educational opportunities for all pupils. Because of the primacy of local options, guidance and pupil personnel programs have shown considerable variability. Although this variability among local programs can never be entirely eliminated (nor would it be desirable to do so), it should reflect more the idiosyncratic nature of pupils' needs than the quality of programs. This means that each school must, in a sense, develop its own goals, processes, and evaluations. This is equivalent to a "rediscovery of America" in each community, and is slow, laborious, and perhaps even wasteful; but it is inherently a part of "the freedom to develop programs consonant with local desires."

To give way efficiently, and approach educational program development on a nationwide basis, would endanger the very structure of our society.

The assumption that each school and/or school system must find its own destiny places considerable responsibility upon each counselor for guidance program development. In a real sense, no one else can do the job for him. He becomes a student of ways to foster change and strategies to reduce resistance to change. (Obviously, it would be ideal if each administrator and teacher had the same perception of his role. But such expectations are no more realistic than the assumption that all counselors are ready and able to accept change as a part of their roles.) An examination of the literature indicates that schools have always been victims of cultural lags — however, we are beginning to learn how change is studied and fostered in other areas of human endeavor. A quick examination of these ideas usually provides insights into our own problems.

Climates for change. In every school in America, the pattern of leadership by school administrators has had some effect on the educational program. Since Lewin's work on social climates, it has been assumed that leadership characteristics, such as autocratic or democratic styles, have some relationship to the development of educational programs. Several studies have been designed to explore the validity of this assumption. Research is being done relating this hypothesis to school administrators, but about all it has shown, thus far, is the complexity of the problem (Charters, 1963).

Departing from educational research, however, we discover research which may have some significance for us. Groups that discuss the nature of a proposed change, lay plans for making change, and make decisions about change satisfactory to the group as a whole, are less likely to resist change than are groups in which proposed changes are unclear, distorted by individual perceptions, and forced upon participants. Although this research has not been adequately replicated in educational settings, its findings have significance when applied to any social system.

As a counselor contemplates formal patterns and informal arrangements in a school's social system, he begins to realize the magnitude of the job of building an adequate guidance program. Confronted by the expectations of pupils, parents, school personnel, and even other people in the community, a counselor engages in a building task which he alone cannot consummate.

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT IN A SOCIAL SYSTEM

Earlier I described briefly a few inferences which might have bearing on a school's social system. If these inferences have merit, they suggest a number of possible alternatives which might improve the probabilities of success in guidance program development, whose variables were suggested by Strang (1940) more than twenty-five years ago. She was interested in discovering why guidance programs failed and, conversely, what might prevent these program failures. After analyzing several guidance programs, she drew con-

clusions which seem as appropriate today as they were in 1940. In brief, Strang concluded that the development of successful guidance programs is dependent upon setting reasonable goals for the program, staff participation in planning goals and strategies, providing professional leadership, and developing programs related to conditions which influence local schools.

Taking Strang's conclusions, expanding them, and correcting for possible omissions, we might consider the subsequent variables as having high probabilities for successful program development.

Working with Role Expectations

Of all the areas which may cause a counselor concern about his place and behavior in a social system, planning guidance program development may be the most troublesome. Employed in a school to develop an adequate guidance program, the counselor faces a social system with a specific atmosphere. This atmosphere is created by the administrators, teachers, other school personnel, the community, and other social institutions and forces. But, fundamentally, the most potent contributors to the atmosphere are the administrator, teachers, and other pupil personnel workers. These school personnel may or may not share the counselor's expectations about his personal obligations and duties. They may or may not see the counselor as a threat to their personal and professional territories. They may expect — wrongly, from the viewpoint of most counselors — that the counselor will preempt some of their pleasanter one-to-one relationships with pupils. They may regard the counselor as a quasi-administrator with a new approach to solving problems related to discipline, school attendance, or course enrollments. Obviously, there are an infinite number of ways in which members of a social system can differ in their perceptions of a counselor and his work. The essential point is that, assuming the incongruities that almost inevitably occur among the various members of a social system, a counselor cannot assume that other members of a social system welcome his presence, or that their expectations are congruent with his own regarding a counselor's duties and obligations.

Having recognized the perceptual differences which are almost certain to occur among members of a social system, a counselor next considers the question of what he can do about such a situation. At this point, we might consider three alternatives:

1. The counselor might periodically sample role expectations among school personnel, pupils, and their parents. In a sense, he can determine his effect upon these expectations through the kinds of referrals made by teachers, administrators, or parents — and by the nature of pupils' requests for assistance. But he might also use more direct approaches, such as interviews or questionnaires designed to solicit attitudes toward, or expectations concerning, the counselor's role, duties, and obligations.
2. It may seem "natural" for a counselor to avoid those individuals whose expectations differ most from his own, anticipating that some of their expectations will change in time. However, the counselor who can tol-

erate expectations different from his own, who recognizes and accepts the territorial "rights" of teachers and administration, and who can maintain communication with hostile or passive staff members, may find that constant interaction increases the probability that the expectations of all members of the social system will become increasingly congruent. And such interactions usually lead to changes and compromises in the counselor's personal expectations of his duties and obligations.

3. In addition to the establishment and maintenance of communication with as many members of the social system as possible, a counselor has an opportunity to change the role expectations of others by his role behaviors. His behaviors within a social system are perceived as manifestations of his perceptions of duties and obligations. To verbalize one set of behaviors and practice another set is not likely to bring the role expectations of other members of the social system closer to those of the counselor.

Policy-Making in a Social System

At the time of his employment, a counselor is sometimes charged with the responsibility of building a guidance program. This charge is quite misleading, in the sense that building anything involves decision-making responsibilities throughout the social system, because a change in one part affects all other parts of a system. A counselor may choose to spend his time selling desirable policies to staff members and the administrator, in the hope that they will adopt them. Or, if the administrator is solely responsible for policy decisions, the counselor may spend his time convincing the principal of desirable policies. Neither of the two aforementioned approaches to making policy decisions utilizes the strengths of the social system.

There is adequate research to indicate that policies developed and understood by members of a social system are likely to be accepted and put into practice (Zander, 1961). This placement of policy decision-making in the hands of representatives of the social system requires acceptance of several assumptions: 1) the principal must be willing to delegate policy-making to a representative group of staff members, 2) the counselor must accept the idea that representatives of the staff members are able to develop guidance policies, and 3) staff members who serve on a guidance committee or council must be willing to participate in developing policies adapted to a particular school or school system. These assumptions are consistent with the cooperative processes advocated by current administrative theory. Furthermore, the counselor has an opportunity to serve as consultant to the policy-making committee and to carry out policies representing the will of the social system. If these assumptions were put into practice, a counselor would have to work with policies which are not entirely in keeping with his own preferences. In addition, the development of policies might take more time than in situations where policy is set by administrative edict. But, weighing all the advantages and disadvantages, there seems to be a preponderance of evidence and logic supporting the development of guidance policies within the framework of the total social

system. If a successful program involves acceptance and participation by all staff members, and not merely strong professional leadership by a counselor, there appears to be little choice but to involve as many members as possible in planning and understanding policies for the program.

Goals, Practices, and Evaluations

Whatever the process by which guidance policies and practices are developed within a social system, there are three conditions necessary to develop a guidance program adapted to the needs of a particular school and which is not a transplant or imitation of another program.

Definition of goals. In a social system as complex as that of a school, and with a program as pervasive as guidance, the development of suitable program goals has been a difficult task. In some cases, goals have been rather abstract or ambiguous, applicable to education as a whole and not specifically to the guidance program. In other cases, no one has bothered to define goals and, instead, attention has been centered on practices. Goal definition is still one of our most critical problems in developing guidance programs, particularly defining goals to fit into a rationale that can be tolerated by the social system (Peters, 1963).

It seems reasonable to expect that members of a social system may become confused about, and disenchanted with, a program that is not predicated upon a set of meaningful and tangible goals. And even when goals have been established, if the members of the social system do not understand them, they serve very limited purposes. So the problem becomes one of establishing goals and communicating them to all parts of the social system. Again, the manner of determining goals may be the key to successful communication of those goals. However, the kinds of goals developed by members of a social system may need considerable nurturance by a counselor and other leaders.

Instead of such general goals as pupils' self-realization or self-actualization, a policy-making body representative of a social system might consider behavioral goals that lend themselves to some form of assessment. Perhaps the work of Krumboltz *et al.* (1966), with respect to behavioral goals in counseling, may not appeal to all members of a social system; nevertheless, the discipline of attempting to define specific outcomes in terms of pupil behavior would possibly clarify role expectations of a counselor's work. It might also create a different image of the counselor's role than that of "doing all things for all people," an image which tends to irritate staff members who feel the program is encroaching upon their personal and professional territories.

The process of defining behavioral goals is an essential ingredient in the development of a guidance program. As such, each social system must probably invest its time heavily, because it must not copy or imitate the goals derived by members of another social system. To adopt someone else's goals would short-circuit the communicative process. In a social system, the goals *per se* may not be as critical as the process of learning to communicate in the derivation of goals.

Relating practices to goals. Once reasonable behavioral goals for a guidance program are determined, the planning mechanism has the problem of matching means and ends, practices and goals. Again, I stress the importance of involving representatives of the social system in decisions with respect to matching practices with goals. A policy-making body which represents the social system is able to plan practices acceptable to all members of that system. The guidance program can thus become a more integral part of the whole educational program. Furthermore, practices can be developed in light of the plans and purposes of the various parts of the social system — certainly an effective means of reducing discrepancies among role expectations.

Evaluation of practices. If goals and practices are carefully explored and synthesized, program evaluation can become a more meaningful process than it has been in the past. Direct participation by the policy-making body of a social system is as essential for planning evaluative procedures as for determining goals and practices. Since guidance practices involve all parts of a social system, any evaluation must be sanctioned by members or representatives of that social system.

Sanctions depend upon a complete exploration of the purposes of evaluative processes. If members of a social system perceive evaluation as essential to the development of services to pupils, and not as a personal threat to their territories and statuses, they will sanction, participate in, and use the results of evaluative processes.

CONCLUSIONS

Although we still must attack our problems of program development without the support of adequate research, we are beginning to explore ideas and assumptions that hold promise for improved practices. Certainly, approaching schools as social systems offers more hope for research and insightful practices than do traditional methods of guidance program development. Personally, the "social system" approach strikes me as important if for no other reason than that it refocuses the counselor's attention upon the significance of interpersonal relationships and away from the mechanics of guidance program development.

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JOHN W. M. ROTHNEY

*Professor of Education, University of Wisconsin**Autobiography*

I have suggested in my book on case studies that when data about a person are being compiled they should be separated into census and personal classifications. By census data I mean those items which are presented for identification purposes only and which do not permit interpretations of the behavior of an individual. Thus the census fact that I was born in Scotland does not allow the reader to infer that I am either close or canny. Presentation of personal data, on the other hand, does permit one to make some guarded interpretations of a person's usual behavior and significant deviations from it. Some selected census and personal data about the writer are presented below. The census data is verifiable, but the reader's interpretations of the personal data will be so colored by his own experiences that the variability is likely to be significant.

CENSUS DATA

Education

A.B., University of Alberta, Canada, 1930, and Master's and Doctor's degrees from Harvard University, 1932 and 1934.

Experience

Teacher and principal in public schools.

Research Associate and Lecturer, Harvard University and Wellesley College.

Summer teaching at Universities of Southern California, Colorado, Hawaii.

Professor, University of Wisconsin, 1939 to present.

Research

Research Assistant to Eight Year Study of Progressive Education Association.

Consultant to many public school, college, and organization research projects.

Associate Director, Harvard Psycho-Educational Clinic.

Air Corps selection of flight personnel.
 Director of Wisconsin Counseling Study.
 Director of Research and Guidance Laboratory for Superior Students, University of Wisconsin (1957-1968).

Publications

Twelve books, some 80 articles, several reviews, and many research reports.
 Most of the books and articles are reports of research.

(*Editor's note:* Dr. Rothney has received the following awards and distinctions: Outstanding research award, American Personnel and Guidance Association, 1951.

Certification of Commandation for outstanding research from Division of Counseling Psychology of American Psychological Association, 1966,
 Air Corps citation for outstanding work as education officer.

Certificate of Service from the National Vocational Guidance Association for work as Chairman of Section on the Gifted.

Holder of diploma in Counseling Psychology from the American Board of Professional Examiners in Psychology.

Fellow, American Psychological Association.)

PERSONAL DATA

My undergraduate study consisted of a broad liberal arts program without concern for its practical application. I can't remember ever hearing the words *counseling* and *guidance* used in the professional sense until I enrolled in John M. Brawer's class in vocational guidance at Harvard. I had developed a deep interest in kids while teaching school, and knew that I wanted to work in child development, child psychology, or some phase of education. It was Brewer's inspirational teaching and counseling that influenced my choice. Work in the growth study at the Psycho-Educational Clinic at Harvard provided the opportunity to keep up my interest in human development, and conversations with Gordon Allport about the importance of recognition of individuality reinforced my concern about counseling as a one-to-one process. At the same time Truman L. Kelley's new statistical approaches to educational problems were coming into prominence. I liked individuals, but I found statistics fascinating. For many years I found it difficult to decide whether I wanted to concentrate on statistical studies, from which general principles could be drawn but which seemed so useless when one sat down to counsel with an individual, or to work primarily with individual cases. This dilemma is represented in much of my writing and is still a matter of concern, although I have (almost) developed rationalizations for both procedures.

I have carried on both kinds of work throughout my career. I have managed to arrange my professional schedule to be able to counsel with some adolescents and their parents and teachers each week while conducting experimental studies with thousands of cases over long periods of time.

Maybe my Scottish background did influence some of my concerns. In that country, trial courts can render a verdict of "not proven." This is my verdict on

the elaborate claims of members of our profession for the efficacy of counseling and guidance. I still get disturbed about the extent to which our profession has been influenced by persons who just never get around to evaluating the effects of their ideas and proposals on the lives of persons over extended, or even short, periods of time.

This lack of critical appraisal of our efforts is probably responsible for the faddism (excessive use of faulty instruments for testing performances and inventorying preferences, client-centered therapy, behavior counseling, T-groups, overemphasis on taping, and now elementary school guidance) which I have so often decried. Lacking evidence of the effectiveness of these procedures in helping persons, and apparently unconcerned about getting it, we tend to hop from one fad to another and never seem to decide just what it is that counseling and guidance are supposed to do. I get some consolation from the fact that all of them, after their period of ascendancy has passed, leave a little residue and, perhaps, make us a little more useful.

I have never liked holding office. Others seem to like to do so, and I'm sure that they can do a better job of it than I can. For this reason I have avoided offers to be a candidate for office since I was president of the Wisconsin Psychological Association some two decades past.

Four years of my life were spent in the armed forces as an aviation psychologist, education officer, and civil affairs officer. I became awfully bored with obtaining aviation cadet test scores, and counting the coconut trees in the South Pacific and the number of weapons destroyed in Japan, but it was a broadening experience. In counseling youth in these troubled times it seems particularly valuable.

I like to teach. Over the years I have taught, largely by the discussion method, sections of a course in child development. The responses of students preparing for teaching suggest that they do develop some concern for individuals. After giving thousands of lectures to all kinds of groups, including guidance groups in nearly every state, I doubt the effectiveness of the lecture method. I am trying hard to get rid of it as a procedure in the education of counselors.

It seems to me that if anyone is to be effective in this field he must learn to laugh and live and leave his work at the office. Somewhere along the way I learned to work out a balance of work and play so that the latter does not interfere with the former. My concerns with such innovations as the first large-scale longitudinal studies of human development, first long-time evaluation studies of performances of counseled and uncounseled students, first casebooks of non-problem cases, and the development of the first research and guidance laboratory for superior students have seldom (if ever) caused me to miss a putt, or an invitation to partake of the best known Scottish export.

Critical Comments on Counseling Circumstances

In his article, John Rothney focuses primarily upon counseling with adolescents in the educational setting. He writes that counseling is a vital aspect of education and that, when effective, it fulfills some student needs not met in other activities.

Rothney uses the term *adaptive counseling*, which is "designed to express the conviction that counseling is a process in which the counselor adapts his procedures to the particular person with whom he is working, and even makes adjustments at various times when counseling with the same person." He gives several further observations on his concept of adaptive counseling.

The evaluation of guidance outcomes is described as an obligation of counselors which has received insufficient attention. Rothney feels that evaluation should be concerned not only with individual needs but also with the expectations of society. Counselors have some obligations to society and cannot discard this responsibility simply because they are counselors.

IN THIS ESSAY the writer is concerned with counseling and its related activities in educational settings, and particularly with the counseling of adolescents.¹ Whether any of the comments are applicable in private practice, rehabilitation clinics, employment offices, and geriatric or other centers is not a matter of concern to the writer at this moment. Workers in such situations may find the discussion of some interest, since some principles are common to all counseling situations, but the exigencies of institutional tasks make for so many different demands on counselor activity that even the principles seem to undergo considerable modification. In any event the reader should be very much aware that the emphasis here is on counseling adolescents in schools.

COUNSELING IN EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS

Counseling in educational settings is *not* a salvage and repair operation. The distinction between the developmental and remedial approaches in counseling is a distinction with a real difference. The school counselor does not withhold his services until a student is in academic difficulty, has an adjustment problem, or is near the transition stage of graduation, dropout, or transfer. Nor does he always wait until the student seeks him out before counseling is initiated. He considers counseling as part of the total school offering and, in seeing that all may participate in it,² he perceives his work as more closely allied to that of the curriculum specialist than to the school or clinical psychologist, who, while professing concern about development, is more likely to work at diagnosis and remediation.

Counseling is an essential and distinct phase of the educational program because it meets a need that has not yet been named and has never been given enough consideration. In presenting it here we shall eschew the common practice of giving it a high-sounding title. The christening of the need will be

¹ The word *counseling* will be used in discussion of one-to-one sessions with a counselor. When the term *guidance* is employed the reference is to related activities essential to the counseling enterprise.

² This does not mean that counseling is thrust upon the student. It does imply that all have the opportunity to participate in it after it has been explained to them. And if it meets the need being considered, many will seek it.

left to others but, in essence, it means that in the complicated business of coming of age in America there comes a time (or times) when a student wants to sit down with a special adult and talk about himself.³ I have observed this need as I have worked individually with many hundreds of students over the past thirty years, and it seems to me that it is as important as, say, the need to belong or any of the other needs which are discussed so frequently in the guidance literature. This need goes far beyond the need for attention, although it is related to it. It implies the need for *individual* attention by a special adult, with the intent of learning more about oneself and one's place in current and future environments.

School and society provide for the need to belong in the family and the fraternity, the troop and the team, the class, the congregation, the choir and the clique, the games and the gang, but nowhere, except in counseling, is there specific provision for the one-to-one "let's talk about me" experience that all students seem to need. The need to belong, for example, has become well recognized largely because social institutions have made obvious, even essential, provision for it in the family and the classroom, but the need to talk about oneself, originating perhaps in the long period of infant and childhood dependency on adults, has not been provided for and has been almost completely overlooked. This neglect may be due in part to the fact that by the time persons have acquired the status to write guidance textbooks and treatises (and compile the endless books of readings) they seldom, if ever, work individually with youth, and thus have no opportunity to observe the importance of the need.

Students may not be aware of this need, and may even resent any suggestion that it exists because provisions for counseling have not been adequate, because seeking out a counselor might suggest that they would appear to be too dependent on adults, and because individual attention has usually been reserved for problem students. Despite some verbalized rejections, it does seem that each youth wants to talk about himself with someone who has well-defined qualifications and who may help him find his way in the forests of his own desires and the superimposed geography of social opportunities, rewards—and roadblocks. He wants to talk with a wise friend (neither teacher, preacher, principal, nor parent, although he will certainly talk to them too) who may help in the analysis of himself and who has at his command facts which might not otherwise be available, scores on tests which he might not otherwise have had the chance to take, an assembly of marks and observations which no one else would have brought together or had time to study, and perhaps answers (or suggestions as to how and where to get answers) to questions he might not have thought of asking for himself. Few students would, or could, state their need in the language used above, but those who have worked individually with youth will know that this need is as basic, and perhaps even more so, than many which have received greater attention in the literature of

³ Of course by the time some students reach college many factors operate to inhibit the desire to seek out counselors. They include such matters as feeling too grown-up to seek assistance, and the reputations of counseling centers as last resort stations.

guidance.⁴ Meeting this need is the essence of the counseling task. If it is well met, it will make the accomplishment of the goals of guidance possible. If it is not, the other activities are likely to be futile.

It would be idle to claim that a counselor could meet the need described above if he had little discriminating knowledge of human development, for that body of knowledge, in its entirety, includes contributions to the understanding of human personality of which a successful counselor cannot be ignorant. In particular, a counselor ought to know when the student he is trying to help has need of more assistance in the untying of psychological knots or the release of tensions. But the counselor is a general practitioner, not a specialist, and what is more important, he is a member of a school staff, and as such is not expected or required to remake the minds or hearts of his counselees. When a counselee can face the choices which come to him and, with his teachers' and parents' help, can work them out, the counselor has discharged his function; but if he is blocked in this endeavor for hidden personal reasons, the counselor should know what to suspect, and within the limits of available expert help, where to look for aid. A fundamental psychological difficulty, like a physical defect or disease, calls for a specialist who has extensive training in the field. The counselor himself is not a clinical psychologist, nor in most cases even a counseling psychologist, and can be asked only for something more than ordinary perception in knowing when such a specialist ought to be consulted.⁵

ADAPTIVE COUNSELING

Coming into the field of counseling and guidance from the field of human development, I brought with me an acute awareness of the complexity of human beings, of the extent of individual differences among all groups of persons with respect to any behavior, of the amount of change that is characteristic of a healthy human organism, and of the worth of every individual. It seemed, then, that if counselors were to try to assist in meeting the needs (and particularly the need noted previously) of persons who are so unique, so complex, so changeable, and so precious, the counseling process would have to be complex, variable, and flexible. Accordingly I coined for myself and put into practice, but never before into print, the term *adaptive counseling*. It is designed to express the conviction that counseling is a process in which the counselor adapts his procedures to the particular person with whom he is working, and even makes adjustments at various times when counseling with

⁴ One subject of a follow-up study described the need, and the satisfaction of it, when she wrote, without prompting, the following statement: "I certainly appreciated the counseling I received. I love to talk to people and not have them half interested in me or laugh about my ideas but be genuinely interested in me."

⁵ Mere membership in the American Psychological Association, or the collection of miscellaneous course credits in a branch of the field such as educational psychology, does not make a counselor a psychologist. Very few counselors and counselor educators who use psychological jargon have subjected themselves to the rigorous examinations administered by the American Board of Professional Examiners in Psychology.

the same person. Acceptance of this principle required rejection of any single learning or personality theory as all-explanatory; the discarding of simple and single explanations of behavior, and acceptance of the idea that an almost infinite number of factors have been, and are still likely to be, related to a counselee's behavior. As a result, it seemed that the use of techniques for meeting the needs of counselees ranging from volubility to silence in various amounts and at various times would be required. Such approaches as client-centered and behavioral counseling become subheadings under the general heading of adaptive counseling.

The need for adaptive counseling seems to follow so obviously and directly from the recognition of individual differences that one must wonder why members of the profession have spent so much time debating (and making bad jokes) about whether only one of several methods is acceptable. Did anyone ever really believe that there is only one way to counsel persons who come to us from such varied backgrounds? If anyone did, it must have been because he failed to differentiate between the language of sentimentality employed in advertising and the words of inquirers and unbiased reporters. It is just as absurd to suggest that all counselors use the same procedures for all counselees as it would be to imply that all teachers should use the same method in the classroom, or that all physicians employ identical clinical procedures for all patients. But the promotion of single methods goes on apace. The pot of gold at the end of the rainbow maintains its singular attraction.

Adaptive counseling is not a method, nor is it just a compilation of techniques from which the counselor can draw to fit the circumstances.⁶ The counselor cannot simply learn a number of techniques, acquire some judgment as to when to use them, and employ them in a series. Rather, the adaptive counselor's behavior may be suggested by such verbs, among others, as discuss, listen, suggest, interpret, inform, refer, compliment, disagree, reiterate, advise, and challenge. Even the listing of such verbs may be deceptive, however, since it suggests mutually exclusive actions that must necessarily follow in certain sequences and be initiated by the counselor according to some preconceived plan that a particular theory requires. The adaptive counselor, knowing that an individual counselee is extremely complex and that his behavior may change even during one interview, recognizes that he cannot employ a single system and adjusts as the situation requires. Just as a good teacher senses from the behavior of his students that the time has come to change from lecturing to discussion, or from the use of audiovisual equipment to independent study or reports by students, the counselor perceives that he may help most by adjusting his activities to what seem to be the needs of the counselee. And just as a teacher may sense that it is now time for him to direct the class

⁶ This writer has lately been amused, but previously been annoyed, when reviewers of his researches (*Guidance of American Youth*, Harvard University Press, 1950, and *Guidance Practices and Results*, Harper & Bros., 1958) complain that the method of counseling was not described. This kind of critique continues (and I will expect it in reviews of my next report on longitudinal research) despite the fact that it has always been pointed out that the procedure was one of adapting to the individual, and regardless of the fact that case reports and thumbnail sketches of the persons for whom the adaptations were made were always presented.

activities, the counselor may lead his counselee into discussion in what he feels is a desirable direction.

This emphasis on adjustment to each counselee's behavior does not deny the fact that there may be common behaviors among students. In general, for example, there are such recognizable patterns among youth as these: they tend to have a common and continuing interest in developing satisfactory relationships with the opposite sex; the boys, and to a lesser extent the girls, show a common desire for congenial and remunerative careers; both boys and girls are interested in achieving independence from adults; interest of both sexes in physique and health is common; interest in current social developments may be observed, and values, although not always verbalized, are subjects of concern. Even in these areas, however, it is in the recognition of the differences of their depth and stability, and in the timing of changes of emphasis and influence on the behavior of specific counsees, that the counselor will find his clues for adaptive counseling.

COUNSELING FOR CHANGE

If a need has been met, some change in an individual's behavior must have occurred. The very fact that counseling is offered requires, regardless of the techniques employed, recognition that the only justification for its existence is some change in the counselee. Silent, reflecting and head-nodding counselors bring about changes in their counsees if it means only that they are amused by it, or even if they find support, comfort, and encouragement. Those counselors who participate actively in discussion with their counsees must, by their vitality, influence feelings and attitudes whether or not they intend to do so. And the influence of counseling may range in time from momentary feelings of depression or confidence to action taken many years later. But regardless of the procedures employed, counseling must inevitably result in change. The counselee may profess after a counseling session that he has maintained the same ideas he held before but, having discussed them, they can no longer be identical. He may leave the counselor with radically or only slightly modified ideas. He may or may not have more information, more self-understanding, more attainable goals, and clearer recognition of his own values, but in any case change must have occurred. It may be so slight that its measurement is impossible with the crude instruments currently available, and so subtle that its observation is difficult, but it must occur. If persons could leave a counseling session unchanged there would be no justification for the session.

Recognition that change is an inevitable outcome of counseling leads directly to the issue of the counselor's sanction for undertaking the task. Those who suggest that the wishes of the counselee are the sole determinants of what is to be considered in interviews fail to consider that in dealing with minors, the ideas of parents, who are legally and financially responsible for their children and who care about the decisions they make, must be considered. And when the wishes of minor children and their parents clash, there must be some resolution of the issues. But parents' wishes alone cannot be the

justification for action, since they are often ill-informed, biased, and confused by the generation gap. Sanction for counselors' actions cannot be found in the inadequate follow-up research, or in other kinds of research done in this field. Counselors' personal philosophies cannot provide sanction, since acceptance of this basis for action opens the way for anyone to grind his own ax, or promote (consciously or unconsciously) his own views and values. Contemporary or even anticipated social needs such as manpower shortages⁷ cannot provide sanctions for counselors' actions since they may be highly inaccurate, may stimulate recruiting, or may generally encourage molding the counselee to fit a preconceived pattern.

THE COUNSELEE'S NEED FOR ATTENTION

Lacking sanctions in a student's statements, parents' desires, research, personal philosophy, and the current or probable future needs of society, the counselor must find a sanction for his activity which, as indicated above, will certainly bring about change in his counselees. It is suggested that he will find his sanctions specifically in the special need of the person for individual attention, and generally in the objectives of the institution in which he is employed.⁸ The counselor is a *helper* in an educational institution, *not* an institution in himself. His sanction comes from being a member of a staff whose ultimate objectives he can accept (perhaps after he has helped in their formulation or revision) and work toward cooperatively. He should not accept a position in a school if he cannot do so. If, by error, he finds himself in such circumstances, he is obligated to encourage reconsideration of the objectives, and if that is not done, or if the resulting revision is unacceptable, he should withdraw. The ultimate goals of guidance, however, seem not to differ significantly from those of most educational institutions, even though the counselor's intermediate steps toward them may seem, at times, to be at odds with what other staff members are doing. School counselors are helping educators who strive to meet the needs of students. In doing so, they have the very special opportunity to meet the "need to talk things over" that was described above.

EVALUATION OF COUNSELING

Guidance workers have not been noted for extreme modesty about their accomplishments during the past sixty years, despite the fact that they have

⁷ Despite repeated assertions that guidance is not determined by manpower needs, guidance workers have eagerly accepted support from the NDEA which was designed primarily to serve such needs.

⁸ In reporting on his long-term follow-up studies of counseled and non-counseled youth, this writer has indicated that, "Intensive counseling of youth during their high school years and the close collaboration of counselors with members of the school staff do assist materially in the accomplishment of the objectives of the American secondary school." (Rothney, J. W. M. *Guidance Practices and Results*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1958). By reporting in this manner he was emphasizing the helping and cooperative role and the commonality of ultimate objectives.

failed to document them well enough to justify even minimal self-congratulation. Members of the profession, with few exceptions, do not state their objectives in terms that permit evaluation, nor do they follow through by evaluating their work in terms of the stated objectives. Nor do most counselors seem to feel that evaluation is necessary. The guidance movement is an outstanding example of one that has existed, and even grown, on the basis of boldness and faith. One must wonder if any profession can continue to subsist on such a meager diet.

As an exercise in futility, one can take any of the many statements of counselors' purposes (The American School Counselor's statement, for example)⁹ and try to decide how and when one could determine if the purposes had been accomplished. One gets little help from the nine-page document itself, since scant attention is given to evaluation. Vague generalizations about helping pupils develop decision-making competency (with the implication that a skill learned in the counseling situation will transfer to other situations), self-understanding (can anyone *really* understand himself?), and more realistic (to whom?) self-concepts, abound in the literature.¹⁰ Evidence that these changes occur, except for differences in the way a person tosses checkmarks at insufficiently defined words on scales, sorts cards, or marks so-called personality tests, is hard to find. If alibis about counseling outcomes being immeasurable intangibles were rejected, and the profession was required to justify its existence, it would be hard put to do so. But if the lack of evidence of the value of counseling, immediately or in the future, is disturbing to any large segment of the profession, it is not revealed in the literature. The building of a plan for evaluation into a counseling program has not been common practice, nor does it seem likely to become common in the foreseeable future. The emphasis is forever on the guidance *process*—practically never on the outcomes—and the result is too often bitter disillusionment on the part of counselees, parents, and school personnel. The writer once described this undue emphasis on process and neglect of outcomes in the following passage:

The day after the missiles landed the doctor was out binding up radiation burns. The minister prayed and set up a soup kitchen in a ruined chapel. The policeman herded stray children to the rubble heap where a teacher had improvised a classroom—and a professor of counseling sat down to write a report about possible effects of intensified anxiety states upon scores on the Kuder Preference Record. Then, since there were two guidance professors left, they held a conference on "the aspects of the total program of teacher education that should be designated as guidance and personnel work."

Reasons, or perhaps alibis, for lack of evaluation may be found frequently. In addition to the problems caused by lack of clarity in objectives, there are

* American School Counselor Association. *Proposed Statement of Policy for Secondary School Counselors*, 1964.

¹⁰ Statements of guidance objectives often seem unrealistic in view of the limited time a counselor can give to a student even if recommended student counselor ratios are achieved. Students are in school only 15 to 20 percent of their waking hours and even if a counselor spent all of his time with one student (an impossible situation) he would have only a very small sample of a student's behavior. And consider how much smaller the sample would be if he had 300 counselees.

those brought about by the complexity of persons, the multitude of factors other than counseling which may influence human behavior, the difficulties of developing suitable instruments, the mobility of persons in a free society, inadequate self-reports, inaccurate reports of observers, and many others.

All of these difficulties might be lessened, however, if members of the profession would accept evaluation as an essential part of the guidance task and get on with the job. And, since the counselor's role is one of a helper working toward the objectives of the educational institution in which he works, he will recognize the need to stimulate all staff members to work cooperatively in the evaluation process. In doing so, he will find the opportunity to show that he is, indeed, a fellow worker striving toward common goals.¹¹

Evaluation will not be concerned solely with meeting the needs of individuals in the narrow sense in which this expression is commonly used in guidance. Educational institutions do have obligations to serve the society which supports them. It is evident, for example, in the fact that public education is the largest industry in this country, and in the increasing extent to which education is supported financially, that society wants its young people to get all the education from which they can profit. Encouraging youth to get that amount and kind of education is, then, a duty of a counselor in an education institution.

Acceptance of this obligation does not, of course, mean that it may not be desirable for a particular student to drop out of training at the time he, his parents, other members of the school staff, and the counselor working together feel that it would be a desirable course of action. Evaluation in terms of drop-outs from educational institutions would not, then, consist merely of counting the persons who leave and claiming success if they are few. It would require examination of *each* person's performance in terms of the extent to which he had obtained all the formal education that it appeared he could profit from at that time. And in the process of assessing outcomes in areas about which society is greatly concerned, the counselor will consider whether, in meeting a counselee's need to talk about himself, a need of society has also been met.

This dropout illustration has been presented only as an example of a need of society about which the counselor, as a staff member, must be concerned. He will also have to ponder his position carefully with respect to such matters as national defense, conservation of talent, cultivation of beauty, equity of opportunity, and any other matters that the society which employs him considers important. Counselors as well as counselees will have to give due consideration to the environment in which they live. When the counseling robe is donned the citizenship role is not discarded.

THE GUIDANCE PROCESS

When one mentions the words *counseling* and *guidance* to laymen, their thoughts seem to turn toward testing, placement, and psychiatry. It appears that their conception of the counselor as primarily a tester has developed from overemphasis on objectively scored instruments, which has produced the common but mistaken belief that aptitude tests and personality and interest inventories can indicate accurately the occupation or field of study in which a person is likely to be most successful. The overemphasis on placement seems to derive from the practice of limiting the amount of individual attention given to a student until he is about to transfer from the status of student to that of employee. The layman's concept of counseling as almost synonymous with psychiatry appears to be due to the current overemphasis on the "problem" student, and to the rather naive statements of the pseudo-psychologists in our ranks who insist on trying to relate psychological theory, developed in the treatment of neurotic little old ladies or seriously disturbed adults, to helping youth find themselves in the process of growing up in America. Neither the pseudo-psychologists nor the ubiquitous promoters of elaborate testing programs nor what I call the transition assisters convey accurately to the lay public what the counseling job is and how it can be accomplished. Until members of the counseling profession decide what their speciality in a community of specialists is, and can convey their decision meaningfully to the laymen who support their activities, the future of the profession seems very bleak.

For the past twenty years this writer has started the guidance process with several hundred youth with this problem of lay misunderstanding very much in mind. He tells them that they are to participate in a series of activities in which they, their parents, and members of their school staff will try to help them to understand themselves better than they otherwise might, so that when the time comes (and it may come at any time) to make important choices, they may be better prepared to do so. And this statement is repeated frequently to their teachers and parents. It should be noted that the statement does imply cooperative efforts, and that it does not intimate that there will be complete self-understanding or that the decisions will always be good. The students are told that the process may require testing and appraisal of their performances in several areas, and will certainly involve some counseling sessions in which they can talk about any matter that is of concern to them; that there will be discussion with them of their usual performances and behavior and any significant deviations from the usual; that there will likely be some imparting and interpreting of information (done individually so that, by questioning, the counselor can make sure that the information has been learned); that conferences with parents and teachers will be held, and that the processes will be carried on over a considerable period of time. They are assured that no information will be withheld from them and that all the materials the counselor has will be open for their inspection. And finally they are told that, in conferences with the counselor, they will be given the opportunity to work

out the best answers — or the best bets — for themselves from all the assembled facts and impressions. This approach seems to diminish the misunderstanding of counselees and laymen about the purposes and methods of the profession, and it is recommended for trial by those who would counsel in schools and who would try to clarify their roles to persons who have regarded them as vague, nebulous, and probably unproductive workers.

APPLICATION OF RESEARCH TO THE INDIVIDUAL

Although space does not permit discussion of research in this field, consideration must be given to a major difficulty which has limited its usefulness in the past and seems likely to continue to do so. The problem is the impossibility of applying generalizations about persons to the individual case. Research on a single person does not permit generalization, since one of the basic premises of those who study human beings is that each is unique. Research on groups may produce generalizations but they apply only in general, on the average, on the whole, and other things being equal (which they never are), and may not be applicable to a person within or outside the particular group. Studies on the prediction of academic performance, for example, have reached the *ad nauseum, ad absurdum* stage, but they have demonstrated that there is a better than chance relationship between scores on well-constructed paper-and-pencil achievement tests and scholastic performance — on the whole. This finding may be of considerable value to selection and admission officers but it does not help the counselor to determine whether his particular counselee will reflect the general relationship or run counter to it, even to the degree of complete reversal of it, or whether there is greater relationship for this person than was indicated in the mass data. Two groups may differ significantly, but all members of the groups are not differentiated.¹²

When one looks at the individual, all laws are modified, and until an Einstein in this field arrives to lead us out of this dilemma, research can offer little help for the activities described above. A counselee can be shown that he performs or behaves like other persons who have been successful in a career or educational situation, or in making social adjustments, but when he asks if he will perform in any particular manner or at any specified level the counselor will have to respond with the three words he must learn to use frequently — “I don’t know.” Even with the best research results available, no other words are justified. The difficulty of translating experimental designs created to measure soil fertility, the weight of pigs, or the effectiveness of manurial treatment of soils into a counseling framework has not yet been resolved.

IN CONCLUSION

As this essay draws to a close, the writer feels that he has been forced by space limitations to give an indistinct and light touch to a subject which really

¹² It is most unfortunate that statisticians have chosen to use the word significant in describing differences. It is too often interpreted as signifying a finding that is important or momentous. It may mean nothing of the sort. A finding may be significant statistically but quite unimportant and usually not momentous.

needs a thorough treatment with a heavy hand. He has painted a picture of a rather bleak past and uncertain future for counseling and guidance in our educational institutions because the paint he was required to use was composed of unrealistic and inadequately defined objectives, superficiality of thought about the complexity of the task to be done and almost complete omission of consideration of the sanctions for it, excessive emphasis on processes with a resulting neglect of thought about current or future outcomes, research that fails to answer the most pertinent questions, and inadequate interpretations of the profession's purposes and practices to those who support it.

Suggestions for improvement have included the greater recognition of one basic need which counselors are in a unique position to meet, the employment of adaptive counseling by persons who have well-defined qualifications for their work and who know their sanctions for it, recognition of the counselor as a helper in an institution rather than an institution himself, avoidance of applying to individuals generalizations derived from groups, and collaboration with other educators in the definition of objectives that permit evaluation of their work in terms of the stated goals.

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Autobiography

I believe I have a singular advantage over others who write in these pages. I was born in a country where the phonemes are quite different from those of English. More than that, to the age of 10 I spoke and read in Yiddish, a rich and plastic language which has borrowed liberally from the dominant language of the many countries where Jews have lived. Also it is interlaced with thousands of years of folk expression from Ivrit, the language of the Book. There is a delicate point here. Because I was 10 and already possessed of language, my encounter with English forever left an edge of the new. The advantage is in being freer to use the English word in unstereotyped ways, in all its differently toned possibilities and meanings. For me there has nearly always been discovery in writing, and sometimes pleasure and delight.

I was brought up on the streets of Manhattan, many times the hard way, on the edge of street gangs and street fights; playing stickball was integrated with the flow of autos up and down the street. I remember walking from the library, crossing New York's streets with eyes glued to a book. There were the usual youthful discoveries, always new, always the same. For a city boy, paid chores are hard to come by before, say, age 14, but then I began to work and have continued since, with little respite. Sometimes I think that many careers must begin between 14 and 18, in many different kinds of work.

For many the social center in the New York beehive was, and I dare say still is, the community center. For some, as for me, it helped in self-test and self-discovery. In the wisdom of retrospect, I see that a road runs straight from it to the school of education, the formalized version of the community center.

My first professional job was at a large high school in a tough neighborhood in Brooklyn. There I learned what I was supposed to know, also the hard way. There I learned for the first time what I have learned repeatedly, that unless there are safeguards the counselor does everything but counsel.

I daresay one's first significant work is like first love is supposed to be—it leaves indelible impressions. From the school job I went to a three-year assignment at the headquarters office of the guidance program at the Board of Education, and so translated a limited view to something less so. There followed, in order: work in counseling and retraining with the National Refugee Service, an agency attempting to provide for European refugees a smoother transition to the American economy and American ways than might otherwise have been possible; a task in the War Relocation Authority, handling the conscience-ridden problem of the Japanese-Americans interned as a result of war hysteria; a spell in the Navy; and a post in the Veterans Administration program. This is a picture of a job-hopper who mended his ways.

My advanced training followed a pattern pursued by many in education: it was combined with work. There is a loss in such an arrangement. It is too goal-directed, and one misses something essential to learning, probably the feeling part of learning. It leaves gaps that must be filled, and there is a classic way of doing this, a hard but meaningful way. I refer to self-teaching—perhaps, after all, the only way of learning. Years later, for this reason and because I had to cope with the growing literature, it became necessary for me to rediscover analytic thinking; it had to be worked at in didactic and personal ways. But the world changes so that in time this tremendous influence in my life had to take up not the entire horizon but only a part of it.

A person learns constantly, but in some settings and situations more than others. Mostly I have learned because I have had to learn. For eight years I was editor of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*. This is a rewarding but also hard way to learn and for a relaxed life cannot be particularly recommended. Ours is a wordy discipline and many write, including some whose liaisons with English are furtive and ill-advised. For an editor this involves understanding and, if he does not understand, knowing why he does not, because in this also there is an opportunity for great learning. There is learning too in working materials through with contributors and in considering the evaluations of the gifted editorial board members who review each article submitted.

I have learned from the people I have been associated with in work. I suppose that, from impatience and driven by time, I have frequently jumped too quickly or too hard on a technical issue, but I do claim credit for listening and, as necessary, changing before a final decision is reached.

And I have learned from myself. In a paper of my own I have had to say that in trying to understand human behavior one is one's own best text, and so it has been for me. I have put it not too delicately and somewhat pretentiously that when I itch with a problem I must scratch. In my case I must scratch on paper. In the process of writing for peers, unless a person is a fool, learning is inevitable; there is no escape from it. But no great credit is warranted here. Learning can be a habit, quite rewarding, but still a habit, and curiosity flavored with the salt and pepper of skepticism can be a reasonably constant attitude. What I have learned has not been in order to save the world, which will be saved slowly, if at all, but for myself.

Notes like these, written on invitation, describe a person from a limited perspective. It is only an intellectualistic description that is offered and therefore it is wanting. The important parts, the motives and emotions, are missing, the compelling needs are not apparent. A profile so derived must be flat. A person is

better described in terms of his strong feelings, his convictions, his needs, and his irritations. Perhaps one clue to a man is in his loves. I acknowledge my attachment and debts to many people, but to four women especially: my wife, my daughters, and my grandchild. Each has given love and has I hope been well repaid, because these things multiply on exchange, making all richer.

Currently my greatest debt is to a 15-month-old female, independent, comic, as like as not to give you the elbow if offered assistance while walking, beyond telling in the delight she offers. Now and again there is wisdom in folk wisdom. Grandparents and grandchildren are made for each other.

I am in no way abusing a privilege in talking of her. The point is that I have learned very much from her. She is herself, sturdy and, within her natural limits, self-reliant. Her business is being a growing, discovering, learning infant, and she does this despite the distractions of adults and the frustrations they offer. When she was a young infant I observed closely how she imitated a sound: the total body movements, the waving of arms and legs, the movements of her mouth, and finally the approximation of "O." I have heard her first words practiced and learned. She models wisdom; all well babies do. They are all existentialist. When she is tired she sleeps and when she is hungry she eats, but not otherwise.

How fortunate to have had a second chance to observe this miracle. There are few such given us. It is a fact that each infant is an incredible miracle. It is a second chance because with my own children I was too harried, too tense, too achievement-oriented. For how very many in this situation, a second chance redresses and heals.

Because another way to learn is to teach, and because for me there is much pleasure in this kind of communication, I have taught for many years and am presently Visiting Professor at the College of Education of the University of Maryland. Invitations to consult or lecture at various institutions and agencies offer similar rewards. Teaching also provides stimulation, the opportunity to pursue a problem and, now and again, to arrive at something useful.

At the Veterans Administration, my title is Chairman, Vocational Rehabilitation Board, the Compensation, Pension and Education Service, Department of Veterans Benefits. The Vocational Rehabilitation Board is a staff group which writes policy and provides technical direction for the VA's program of counseling and rehabilitation in the VA regional offices and the VA counseling centers.

Three programs are in operation under as many sets of laws: vocational rehabilitation for veterans who have service-connected disabilities; educational and vocational counseling for orphans and survivors of veterans eligible for educational benefits under specified conditions, and counseling also for GI's applying for educational benefits who ask for help in deciding on educational and vocational goals.

One's work setting can be important in a number of ways, and if meaningful communication is to be established I had best say what my work with the Veterans Administration has meant to me.

This is a federal program with details of operation decentralized to regional offices but with direction of policy, qualification of staff, and basic doctrine in counseling and rehabilitation centrally promulgated and controlled. The least such a setting offers is wide scope. If a person can cause ripples, they will travel

far. I am unendingly grateful for the opportunity to contribute in so productive a way. It should not take training in vocational or counseling psychology to know that all jobs have their limitations, and that all are in some way circumscribed. There is only relative independence. Even in forward-looking programs well supported by administration there are limitations inherent in the basic charter, in funding, in the beliefs and convictions of administrators, in human frailty, in the number of hours in a day, in lack of sophistication, and perhaps in sophistication too far ahead of practicability. I begin to sound like the preacher in Ecclesiastes. How to write of what lies ahead?

Counseling: A Limited Solution for a World of Problems

Joseph Samler's thought-provoking article is most appropriately titled. He raises several pertinent questions regarding some earlier counseling philosophies and takes issue with some traditional ways of working with counselees. To Samler, a neutral, passive view of man gives birth to a "therapy to suit." It is questionable whether this approach to counseling is of any help to many people with problems.

Counseling, to Samler, is a good service, but a limited service. The differences in human beings, and the differences in the environments in which they live, necessitate many services. Counseling is only one of these.

Samler feels that if we could think of a "set of services, based on different premises, differing in character and activity, a number of problems confronting us in counseling become attenuated and begin to dissipate."

THE WORDS and the ideas they carry that seem so firm in print are in fact ephemeral. At any one point in time thinking is a stage in progress, and what follows here should be so regarded. Therefore, although what is written may seem the essence of certitude, it should be understood as an expression of opinion only. Each paragraph should be presumed to start with "it seems to me."

THE NATURE OF COUNSELING

It seems to me that we must reconsider the nature of the service we provide under the rubric "counseling," its explicit and implied commitments, and therefore its potential, against the still-emerging reality of the actual social need for the kind of help counseling presumably offers. Please note that it is not the demand for help, but the need for help that constitutes the issue. Demands for help come from those who find it possible to call for help. The need for help may be there whether or not the call is made.

A kind of contract has emerged between the counselor and counselee. The contract is implicit, but its central provisions are clear enough. They attest to the constantly substantiated finding that all disciplines have specifiable values

at root. In this instance the commitments are the counselor's, and moreover they are the counselor's not as an objective observer of human behavior, but as a well-instructed member of the middle class. Counseling thus becomes a middle-class phenomenon. This does not in itself rule it out of feasibility for application to lower economic sectors; decent housing and indoor plumbing also are middle-class inventions. But in the behavioral disciplines, in the special situations in which a person invests himself for the future, more is involved than having a bedroom of one's own.

ASSUMPTIONS IN COUNSELING

What are the implicit underlying assumptions in counseling?

In the prevalent counseling philosophy, we require an ability to develop faith and trust in another human being or, at the very least, a readiness to do so. For the suspicious and hostile and the well-defended, this is a very difficult requirement.

The vehicle of counseling is the spoken word. Since the spoken or written word is also the means of thinking, the way to identify and order experience, and to make strategies for planning and for change possible, the inevitability of the use of the language in counseling is understandable.

But a verbal orientation is by no means a universal phenomenon. Some, but not all, are comfortable in dealing with the problems of life through symbols. All counselors manifest this characteristic, and we have assumed, I think, that all people share it. But it does not appear to be so. There are many who are quite uncomfortable with this orientation, and they must be included in the legion that drop out of school quite early. The word, so to speak, gets around. I believe those who are suspicious of the word are automatically deflected from counseling.

There are other key characteristics of counseling. If it is to be used, then it follows that there must be a belief that the process is useful. In vocational counseling, for example, there must be a feeling that a range of choices is available. This feeling is an aspect of an attitude toward the future which, if not optimistic, is at least not pessimistic. It is as if the client said, "The next few years may not be easy but I'll come out OK." But for the disadvantaged the problem lies in having learned the hard way the apparent futility of accepting present sacrifice for future gain. Future gain is not in their experience.

Another set of characteristics of counseling, as it is presently constituted, involves beliefs about how people change and the way in which change is brought about. These beliefs are inculcated in counselor training, and in such training were fostered and adopted. For many, they became enduring articles of faith. This is somewhat too mysterious and the mystery should be dispelled.

It is only repeating history to note that in vocational counseling we have come from a counseling view of the individual as a bundle of traits and factors (many still hold on to this safety blanket) through the glooms of analytic teaching's individual geography, to the highly persuasive, warm, and heartening contributions of nondirective counseling.

Analytic and Rogerian philosophy presented a view of man as essentially neutral, passive, imprinted upon by his early experience in life and by cultural imperatives. He was conceived of as acted upon rather than acting (Samler, 1962), and as suffering irrationally from unwarranted guilt. So conceived, the most persuasive of our native philosophers offered a therapy to suit. Change, leading to the assumption of responsibility for one's self, would take place in the warm and accepting atmosphere of the worker's office. This rich soil would provide all the nutrients necessary for the client's growth and change. Indeed, technical counselor training would hardly be necessary. Honesty, warmth, acceptance, concern, and perhaps love, would provide the universal remedy. It follows that the Rogerian way of working with clients became drive reduction, reducing guilt, and allaying tension and anxiety.

Two points must be considered here: first, that the human being is not as passive or weak as he is portrayed; that he has strengths in volition, in assumption of responsibility, and in responding to situations that affect him. Second, in keeping with so different a view of the human being, the modes of help should go considerably beyond drive reduction. Although instances are not systematically gathered — indeed, the very scatter is meaningful — it is abundantly clear that people change in many ways. People respond to drive induction, as well as to drive reduction. Tensions can be created and requirements established; the coolest as well as the warmest of atmospheres may help. This point is discussed by the present writer in a paper (1966) entitled "Helping People to Relate to Work: A Proposed Reconceptualization."

The middle-class assumptions implicit in present-day counseling, and the passive view of man's ability or inability to change, come together in a need to question whether counseling as conceived is competent to help all with problems.

Very likely a definitive analysis of the underlying postulates of counseling and its explicit requirements would bring to light other characteristics. I will treat only one other, an administrative aspect.

The organization of counseling sets forth among other aspects the condition of privacy. The discussion between counselor and client is to be private; the client is not to be overheard. Nor, except under special conditions, is he to be observed. Preferably the door is to be closed. For the period of the interview the time of the worker is the client's; therefore, the telephone should not ring, and he should not be interrupted. If the counselor wants to tape the session, our conventions require that he ask his client's approval, but of course there are many ways of making a pitch. Obviously, privacy and confidentiality are related, and perhaps the need for the second determines the conditions of the first.

The requirement is, however, open to question. The shibboleths we observe here follow class conventions. Is it really desirable to foster the closed self? In a related exploration (Samler, 1965) it is noted that,

The need for thoughtful self-examination, not self review, seems to lead to a need to review what has become a fetish with us, the jealousy of privacy. It seems hazardous to argue against privacy. This does not mean that the bathroom door

should not be locked but rather that we must construct in Schactel's and Dorothy Lee's terms the open self as against the closed self. The cult of privatism has need for the fences to be up and in *good repair*, for the self to be well guarded. The opposite is urged. What are all the dreadful secrets anyway except evidence of our humanity? Openness can be hewed to as a value to work toward, to say how one feels, to be spontaneous, and to identify what one is uneasy about. Of course, there are limits that ordinary sensitivity will supply.

Even in counseling the dictum is open to question. Counselors who have worked in the Job Corps have some salutary points to make about the non-expectations of corpsmen for privacy in counseling. And, of course, expectations strongly influence behavior. What in this sense is the antonym for privacy? In point of fact, the need for the sequestered self may be giving way, as evidently it is in group methods. It is rueful to note that it is the beginning group leader who is tender about privacy, only to be confounded when one of the participants says readily that she is not applying to X college because she doesn't feel she has the ability to do the work at that school. While privacy in counseling is an arguable question, in regard to services which have been crowded in under the counseling umbrella but do not really belong there the problem seems at best an affectation.

The development of these points is not intended as an attack on counseling. Counseling is, in fact, a good and necessary service, but its mission must be seen as limited. The different characteristics of human beings, the different environments in which they move, and therefore their inevitably idiosyncratic interaction, call not for one service but for an array of services, of which counseling should be regarded as only one.

ACTIVITIES IN COUNSELING

What might such an array of services be? What activities would be identified? The following is an initial formulation. It is an approximation, and if useful it should be refined and tested:

Helping the individual to grow in self-understanding.

Teaching decision-making in an educational and vocational context.

Providing learning situations, as in role-playing the employment interview, to affect change in behavior.

Utilizing peer consensus, as in group methods, to affect behavior.

Using situational requirements, as in special restorative training, to affect behavior.

Utilizing behavior modification procedures to bring about behavior change.

If, instead of the single service, "counseling," we think of a set of services based on different premises, and differing in character and activity, a number of problems confronting us in counseling become attenuated and begin to dissipate.

The dicta of counseling require that the client be motivated to seek help. Indeed, motivation is one of the preconditions for successful work. But how are we to "motivate" the disciplinary client, the court case, the overtly hostile? Perhaps the answer lies in going to him and offering or making available limited specific service, or, dreadful word, manipulating him.

Issues that have occupied us fruitlessly may be fruitless because they are applicable to some of these activities but have no pertinence to others. For example, ideas that are appropriate for helping people grow in self-understanding cannot be made to apply to behavior modification. Probably some of our strange findings in counseling research result from treating different activities as if they were the same. A more specific attack treating only the same or similar problems may give us more coherent results. This is John Krumboltz's (1966) point. It may be that the problem of the role of the subprofessional may turn out to be no problem at all because, in an array of activities, the function of the subprofessional may become quite clear.

Perhaps the stickiest of our problems today are those that deal with the assumption of counselor responsibility for his client and the problem of counselor espousal of values. It should be useful, therefore, to examine these matters in these terms. The following ideas have been developed in another paper (Samler, 1968) but will be recapitulated here.

There is an interesting immediate bonus, perhaps indicating that the listing of activities even at this stage in development may have elements of validity. Although there was no such intention to start with, the activities appear to be on a continuum in counselor assumption of responsibility and in the promulgation of values.

Even in the presumably neutral first activity there is at least implicit value promulgation. The activity is there for a purpose. Although the therapist will not insist on the client's adherence to the therapist's own beliefs and attitudes, he is on the face of it putting value on the goals to be achieved, such as growth in self-understanding and self-acceptance. The therapist, moreover, is a model, and the literature reveals that the client tends to identify with the model. Indeed, even if transference is discounted, the worker sets standards by his own behavior, for example, for attention to reality, honesty, and responsibility for self. More than that, in certain forms of analytic therapy now and again the therapist becomes a moralist, reacting in quite a decisive way to poor behavior described by the client. This problem is treated in greater detail in a paper by the present writer (1960).

In helping to learn decision-making, value is placed on planning and on a rationalized process of planning. The time spent by the worker in explicitly following a decision-making model, and the emotional loading of interest in and concern for the client, make the value loading perfectly clear.

In neither of these activities does the worker assume responsibility. Except that the client is capable of being greatly influenced, he is free to follow self-defeating behavior or to follow whim and impulse rather than to make planned decisions.

In the next two sets of activities, situations are structured and the powerful

forces growing out of our relationship with other human beings are used to bring pressure upon the individual to change. The program set out in role-playing, for example, is the counselor's. He assumes responsibility for deciding on client needs and for the necessary learnings to help the individual change poor behavior, as in role-playing the employment interview. The values are explicitly inherent there. It is necessary to come to the employment interview clean-shaven, wearing a clean shirt and looking reasonably neat. It is better to conduct one's self in a particular way and to the extent possible to plan what one is to say.

In group vocational counseling, the program is also specific, for example, explicating the need for and purpose of vocational counseling and exploring methods of self-examination. All such programs are based on conceptions of what is desirable; that is, they are based on given values.

The point is reiterated that these activities are on a continuum, with strong increase in assumption of counselor responsibility and promulgation of values as we approach the last of the activities. This point becomes startlingly clear in considering behavior modification. The counselor assumes total responsibility, and uses the strong forces of positive reinforcement to modify the client's behavior in directions that he feels are desirable and necessary. The question of promulgation of values—and of whose values—answers itself.

Most of the activities listed have to do with adjustment to work; therefore it seems appropriate in leaving this discussion to relate work to the problem of achieving a measure of comfort in living. The contributions of psychology to the understanding of work in the life of man are decidedly limited. Freud's well-known response relative to the mature personality (*lieben and arbeiten*), is profound but does not explicate the nature of work or its possible contributions to maturity. Occupational psychology regularly contributes to the literature on satisfactions and dissatisfactions in work but it is indeterminate. Not much progress seems to have been made since Fryer's (1931) views on intrinsic and extrinsic satisfactions in work. The existential philosophers and those related to them see man as alienated from life by the assembly line but have little to offer by way of alleviation. It may be that technological change will provide a drastic remedy for alienation, a disease, to be sure, that may not exist. Now and again even informed commentators talk of man's work as if it were unitary, and of the labor force as if it has one set of needs and merits one set of answers. In this situation, what follows cannot be an ambitious treatment, but perhaps in one small corner of this large canvas an attempt can be made to make the figures more distinct, to brighten the colors.

The voiced-unvoiced goal of counseling (authority has coupled the term with therapy and thereby probably done us all a disservice) has been at the very least to make the individual competent to work through his problems, to achieve comfort and even a measure of happiness. Of course, the experienced worker never promises anybody a rose garden, but he hopes for the client's successful address to his problems. The means for change, in the address to the difficulties of living, lie in the deep-feeling-experience in the

consulting room, and in the safe consideration of the problems faced by using the person's inner resources.

We have forgotten that it is only the *pursuit* of happiness that the Preamble to the Constitution guarantees, not its achievement. The guarantee of the pursuit affirms the existence of problems; indeed this is a definition of the condition of life. We need not pursue the impossible dream, at least as a general way of living, but need to accept life as full of problems, yielding delight now and then, but also heartache and despair. But it must be said with feeling that a life may be lived well out of psychological precepts, but it is more likely to be as a result of philosophical outlook. So here we are, in the best analytic tradition, back to our philosophical womb.

The issue here is that problems are to be lived with, not necessarily disposed of. There are problems that have no solution. This issue and the problem of how many people change have, in today's professional slang, an interface.

Work provides great opportunity for the individual to come to terms with himself, to accept himself, to live with his problems and to make progress with them, and to function and be productive. In these important ways it works toward the same goals as do formal counseling and therapy. The lesson of the interface is that people change elsewhere than in the consulting room. No discovery is presented here, only an important reminder. The issue has been argued in some detail and has been presented elsewhere (Samlar, 1966), under the rubric "the healing effect of the task." To summarize is to distort, but there is little help for this. In our culture the job can be said to constitute the rites of passage, the turning point for youth, for example, in the assumption of responsibility and earnings on one's own.

Work is a means of testing reality. No matter how friendly the work situation, unless there is unusual protection, there are firm requirements and definite limits. Work is social in setting, and thus day after day provides opportunity to relate to other human beings, the most important element for change in the person.

This is not a plea for the work situation to become a mental hygiene clinic. On the contrary, it is the reality presented by work and its limitations that constitutes a road, more direct than most are willing to grant, toward change and coming to terms with self. In this sense it is remarkable that counseling programs have done so little with this considerable resource.

The main point made in these pages is that if help is to be provided to more than a limited group, we require an array of services rather than a single service—counseling. When more systematic knowledge is available about the possibilities of repair of the individual through the work situation, this may add an important service to the array already proposed.

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BUFORD STEFFLRE

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Autobiography

Currently professor in the Department of Counseling, Pupil Personnel, and Educational Psychology at Michigan State University, I teach a variety of courses, but particularly organization and administration, counseling, and theories of vocational development, with primary interest in this last area. I have served as the major advisor for over 30 doctoral students who now have their degrees. In addition I have been editor of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal* since 1963.

I was born in Peever, South Dakota, and received the first few years of my education there. When we got to geography, I figured out where I was and left for California. The remainder of my pre-college education took place in Los Angeles. My A.B. is from the University of California, Berkeley, with a major in English and minors in sociology and philosophy. The M.S. is from the University of Southern California with a major in guidance, and the Ed.D. is also from the University of Southern California with a major in guidance and counseling and a minor in educational psychology.

After a semester's work in a private school, I began teaching in the Los Angeles city schools. I was assigned to a junior high school on the wrong side of the tracks with a student body largely made up of Mexican-Americans. I taught the core course, social studies-English, and journalism. At the end of the second year I became department chairman. After four years, I went into the Navy for an uneventful year in such exotic locations as San Pedro and Toledo. When I returned to the Los Angeles schools I worked as a counselor for five years in the Advisement Service. The Advisement Service was a central counseling agency which worked with veterans, under contract with the Veterans Administration, and with junior college and high school students when they were referred by their local schools. Although I had been taking courses toward my master's degree, I learned most about the field of counseling and psychology through my work experience. After five years as a counselor, I was promoted

to the job of supervisor of the Advisement Service. This was a second banana job, as the Advisement Service was run by a director. After three years as supervisor, I became assistant to the director of the counseling and guidance service in Los Angeles. Because of the bewildering and fragmented organization of the Los Angeles schools at that time, this job was not quite what it sounds like. We were in the curriculum division with a charge to coordinate guidance services in the district, but without any power to do so. After two years the department fell before stronger political forces and I was assigned as a supervisor of social studies and English curriculum. A month later I resigned and went to Michigan State University as an assistant professor. While in Los Angeles, I taught evening school classes in psychology and English at the junior college and I taught in adult evening high schools. I have also taught in summer sessions at the University of Southern California, New York University, the University of Florida, and the University of Minnesota.

I most enjoyed writing the "Counselor's Coloring Book," which is in mimeographed form only, and "Really a Most Productive Year," in the December, 1958, *Phi Delta Kappan*.

I find the career development explanations, which make much use of avoidance as a concept, most helpful to me. I was never certain of where I wanted to go, but I was always pretty certain of where I did not want to remain.

Teaching seemed to me a possible goal, and that was much in its favor. I had aesthetic interests coupled with lack of talent and high exhibitionistic needs which led me to the classroom. I soon found that I was not really comfortable with my peers. This was a new and unpleasant experience for me. Furthermore, the classroom soon palled and I wanted to try for the next plateau. My first thought was to get into a junior college teaching English, and I began a master's degree in English. Upon completing all of it except for one class and a thesis, I found I was more and more interested in counseling and shifted to that area. I would think that counseling is in some way related to curiosity needs for me. My curiosity is great, but unpredictable in that I am blindly indifferent to many things and most concerned about others. After experience as a counselor and supervisor of counseling, the next step to university work became possible. I am most attracted, in university work, by the freedom which I have. For reasons which only my analyst might know, I have extremely strong needs for autonomy and I think the university is ideally designed to meet them. I am very happy with my work and still somewhat pleasantly surprised and bemused that I have it so good.

Counseling in the Total Society: A Primer

Buford Stefflre describes counseling as a teaching-learning process carried on for the purpose of helping the counselee learn about himself and his life space. He writes that persons with different concerns may be helped by "counselors" with different levels of expertise; some by friends, some by professionals in a special field of concern, and some only by a professional counselor.

Much counseling theory and counseling activity emphasizes societal values and needs rather than the specific concerns of the individual. Inherent in this concept is the desire to make people good. Steffire feels that counseling is not to make people good, but to make them real. When people are real they may not be good. The counselor must not sell out to the socializing agency.

MOST PEOPLE MOST OF THE TIME when faced with choices, problems or uncertainties talk over their situation with others in the hope that their decisions will be more satisfying for their having done so. They talk most frequently to friends and family members. Their purpose may be to secure information about alternatives or reassurance that a tentative decision is a good one, or perhaps simply to experience the warmth and comfort that comes from human interaction. The person with choices to make will already have "talked over" his situation with himself, but discussion with another person may bring a new understanding to him, particularly as he evokes reactions from the listener. This intercourse is the stuff of which counseling is made. The "listener" is chosen on the basis of propinquity and personal qualities and does not usually have specialized knowledge of either the area of concern nor of the decision-making process. The "listener" is performing an act of counseling in the same sense that a mother who bandages her child's skinned knee is performing a medical act. This level of counseling is one of the powerful adhesives holding society together.

Many people, when faced with choices, problems, or uncertainties, talk over their situation with professionals who have specialized knowledge of the area of present concern. A man contemplating a divorce may talk with a lawyer; one with spiritual concerns, a minister. The lawyer and minister who supply information or advice to help the person make a decision are engaged in a form of counseling. But they are not professional counselors, for the counseling which they do is incidental to their major legal and ministerial functions.

Finally, some people, sometimes, when faced with problems, choices, or uncertainties talk over their situation with professional people who are knowledgeable both in the content area of the problem — school, jobs, personal relations — and in the decision-making process itself. Again the motivation for such discussions is the belief that more satisfying and satisfactory decisions will accompany a systematic exploration of the facts and feelings related to the perceived concern. When people receive such specialized help, they are known as clients; those helping them are known as counselors. We are now ready for a definition.

WHAT IS COUNSELING?

Counseling denotes a professional relationship between a counselor and a client which is designed to help the client understand and clarify his view of his life space so that he may make meaningful and informed choices

consonant with his essential nature and his particular circumstances in those areas where choices are available to him.

This definition tells us that counseling is a learning-teaching process, for the client learns about his life space—about himself as the center of that space, and about the people and institutions that share the space with him. If he is to make meaningful and informed choices, he must know himself, the facts of his present situation, and the possibilities open to him, as well as the most likely consequences of the various choices he may make. It tells us that counseling is a relationship, for it is through the counselor-client interaction that learning takes place. They think together by exchanging information, feel together by progressive degrees of honesty and sensitivity, plan together the possibilities to be explored, and decide together the steps to be taken. And the definition implies that role perception and role behavior are frequently central concerns in counseling. How do I see myself as a worker and how can I be more satisfied and satisfactory in my work? As a parent? As a student? And so for all the roles that each of us plays we can ask in counseling—Am I properly cast in this role? Is the mask which the role requires compatible with my own features? And who is the actor and who the character? In short, who am I?

We have seen that knowledge of content and knowledge of process may be involved in counseling; content, the area of concern; process, the decision-making activity. This distinction may be variously phrased for clarification and emphasis. The client's problem has been seen as arising from lack of experience enabling him to know the facts he needs to know or from perceptual distortion resulting in a faulty view of reality. In the first case, the provision of facts may be sufficient; in the second, it is largely irrelevant. The subtle commingling of these two needs—for information and for perceptual clarity—explains why different clients with different concerns may be helped by "counselors" with different levels of expertise in counseling—some by friends, some by professionals in the area of the concern, and some only by professional counselors.

Although the words *choice* and *decision* have been much used, counseling does not always involve the visible overt action that these terms suggest. Certainly, counseling sometimes stems from the need to decide whether to join the Army or the Navy, to get married or not, to take French or Spanish, but often generalized concerns rather than specific decisions occasion counseling. Generalized concerns may involve feelings of comfort in interpersonal relations, autonomy as opposed to automatic societal conformity, and the aforementioned identity problem—who am I? When a very limited, specific, and encapsulated decision is to be made, the individual may be helped by a process close to teaching; when a very broad, pervasive and dynamic concern is to be dealt with, the client may need a process similar to psychotherapy. But counseling differs from teaching in that its goals are determined more by the individual and less by society; it is more apt to involve a one-to-one relationship than that of a classroom-sized group; the counselor is apt to be an expert on such matters as decision-making and

self-exploration while the teacher is an expert on the instructional process and subject matter. And counseling differs from psychotherapy in that it aims at helping the normal client cope with the tasks set before him by his uniqueness and the society in which he lives, while psychotherapy aims at helping the seriously disturbed patient regain or maintain contact with reality and function more effectively and with less suffering.

Counseling has been seen as a process concerned with goals, avenues, and predictors. Goals involve values and the deepest consideration of the human condition and the client's uniqueness. What do I want to do for a living? and, How do I want to live? are two levels of goal questions. Some clients bring such value concerns to the counselor in an effort to think through to answers that can command their belief and guide their action. A consideration of *avenues* deals with ways in which the goal can be reached. Most goals can be approached by more than one route, and the counselor helps the client answer the question, Which road shall I take? The road of formal education or that of on-the-job training might both lead to a desired vocation. Finally, counseling deals with *predictors* which enable counselors to answer such questions as, How likely is it that I will be able to travel this avenue to my goal? These probability statements may be based on data such as test scores, school grades, and work history. Counseling then may help the client cope with such questions as: Where do I want to go? How am I going to get there? What is the likelihood that I will find the road passable?

Because of differences among clients, their problems, and their counselors, the techniques employed in counseling are not uniform. In fact, they are so disparate that a recent definition of counseling which now has some currency says that "Counseling consists of whatever ethical activities a counselor undertakes in an effort to help the client engage in those types of behavior which will lead to a resolution of the client's problem."

Commonly, however, certain techniques tend to characterize the work of the counselor. Often he supplies specialized information about the problem being considered—for example, occupational information about the long-term outlook for a certain vocation, the training needed, and the average income. Information derived from tests which enable predictions of work success or satisfaction are frequently used and even more frequently associated by the public with the stereotype of counseling. Most professional counselors do make use of such tests but the carefully qualified predictions based on them are hedged by the fallibility of the instruments and the changing social and technological context in which the client lives. The client who says to the counselor, "I just want to take some tests to find out what I am best suited for," is doomed to disappointment. There are no tests which by themselves will answer this question with any comfortable degree of certainty. Another counseling technique with a recently increased vogue is the systematic verbal response of the counselor designed to shape the behavior of the client. In some ways this technique, which is particularly associated with those calling themselves behavioral counselors, is similar to the common sense reactions of parents and teachers whose praise of desired responses has been historically validated as a way of encouraging valued behavior.

Finally, the relationship between the counselor and client is itself thought to be a crucial counseling condition. This helping relationship is characterized by a warm, respectful feeling between the counselor and the client, empathy on the part of the counselor which permits him to understand and appreciate the feelings of the client, and by a realization of acceptable ranges of individual differences which moves the counselor toward increasing acceptance of the values and behavior of others. The counseling relationship may enable the client to think clearly about himself and his problem and so arrive at satisfying and satisfactory decisions which previously escaped him. In counseling the client looks into a mirror and names what he sees. No parent, peer or preacher tells him what is there; he must see for himself. The experience of being accepted with all his faults and virtues, of being valued for what he might be as well as what he is, and of being encouraged to assume responsibility for his life, is rare and its consequences sometimes far-reaching.

Counselors do what they do in the counseling interview because of their perception of the client in his present situation and their own counseling theory. Counseling theories typically encompass a view of the nature of man, a conception of the good, and principles designed to guide the counseling process in order that it help the client make desired changes in his life. Counseling theories thus ultimately rest on ontology, axiology, and epistemology, although systematic philosophic explorations of the bases have rarely been attempted. All counseling theories recognize that the counselor intervenes in the life of the client for purposes which the individual and society believe desirable and that such intervention demands responsible professional behavior lest the client and society be harmed.

WHO DOES COUNSELING?

As has been seen, everyone occasionally undertakes counseling in the sense that everyone from time to time enters into a relationship with another person to help him solve his adjustment problems. Everyone, however, is not a counselor, for that term is reserved for those with professional training in counseling.

Special training in the area of concern but not in the counseling process itself characterizes some who do counseling as an adjunct to their central activities. Lawyers, health workers, and ministers all fall into this group. Although it is true that some of these workers may have special education in counseling, generally they rely only on their knowledge of the area of concern and not on knowledge of the decision-making and adjustment process in their efforts to help people.

Finally, the professional counselor is not only expert in the area of his specialization — such as vocational adjustment or personal-social adjustment — but he has cultivated skills in helping people understand their situation, clarify their values, and make informed decisions for which they assume responsibility. These professional counselors, in spite of the stated belief of the counseling establishment that "A counselor is a counselor," usually have occupational titles that indicate the nature of their specialization, for example,

school counselors, rehabilitation counselors, pastoral counselors, prison counselors, and employment counselors.

The extent and nature of the education of counselors varies greatly. Although the specialized education of the professional counselor would seem to be chiefly psychological, because it is focused on the development and adjustment of the individual and his problems of learning and perception, the educational experiences designed to prepare him for his work may be given under the sponsorship of other disciplines such as sociology, education, and social work, all of which also contribute their learnings to the counselor's education. Counselor education consists not just of didactic courses, but typically includes sensitivity training, supervised practice, and field experience, because successful counseling requires that the counselor have skill as well as knowledge. The college counselor, often a counseling psychologist with a doctorate, is probably the most rigorously trained of those doing counseling. (Although the psychiatrist and clinical psychologist may on occasion deviate from psychotherapy to counseling, their training is not primarily designed to enable them to counsel.) Recently educated rehabilitation counselors, like social workers, will have a two-year master's degree including carefully supervised field work experience. School counselors are typically educated in colleges of education to the master's degree level with some work in psychology and some supervised counseling experience, but until recently many of them had less complete training. Employment counselors, as a group, probably now have less formal counseling education than any other identifiable type of professional counselor.

Because of the rapid expansion of counseling services, the difficulty of defining counseling, and the only quasi-professional status of the counselor, much—perhaps most—"professional" counseling is done by those with clearly inadequate preparation. Prison counselors, employment counselors, pastoral counselors and school counselors are particularly apt to have achieved their status not as a result of their formal qualifications but as a consequence of self-nomination, a breakdown of the law of supply and demand, situational emergencies, and rapid expansion of services. Some schools—fewer, with the passing of time—have created counselors by the laying on of administrative hands; some agencies, by legislation. What has been the alternative? We do not know the appropriate ratio of clients to counselors although it has been surmised for the various institutions in which counselors work. We do not know what constitutes adequate training although professional organizations have arrived at agreements representing the pooled judgments of experts. There are not enough properly qualified counselors to staff the positions available. (Not "enough" to meet the ratios of counselors to clients suggested by the professional in-group, nor "properly qualified" according to their standards.) Which is the better solution—to leave the positions vacant or to fill them with people whose education is less than adequate?

Professional counselors work largely for those institutions charged by society with special responsibility for the adjustment and socialization of the individual. True, some counselors are in private practice or work for agencies

whose only function is to provide counseling, but more often counseling is an ancillary service of an institution with broader goals. The church, the prison, and the school have major responsibilities for socialization, minor ones for helping individuals examine their lives, goals, and circumstances in order to make life choices.

Because of the marginal position held by the counselor in these institutions, there has occasionally been insufficient concern for his adequacy, too little understanding of his function, and sometimes a failure to examine the possibility of conflict between the goals of the counselor and the goals of the institution employing him. Socializing institutions have as one of their prime functions the "housebreaking" of the people served. But the counselor serving in these institutions has as one of his prime functions the liberation of clients from restrictions not functional to their optimum development. How is this paradox handled? Often by distorting the purpose of counseling. The counselor is seen by the institution employing him as an ally who helps make people "good." But his unique task is not to make people "good" but rather to make them "real." "Real" in the sense that they assume responsibility for their actions, examine and act on their values, acquire their beliefs by thought and feeling and not by inheritance, and bravely come to terms with society not by surrender but by mutual accommodation. When "real" they may or may not seem "good" in the eyes of the socializing institutions, which by definition will be conservative as their function is to induct the individual into the world that is. And the counselor? He may persuade his employers that his special services are not really inimical to the broader purposes of the institution and that self-direction and qualified autonomy are valuable in themselves. Or he may sell out his unique function and become indistinguishable from the custodial staff in the prison or the disciplinarians in a school. He may say, in effect, "Counseling can be a technique of behavior control. Tell me how you want my clients to act and I will persuade them to do so."

Who does counseling? Everybody at some level of competence. Then what is a counselor? A person with professional training in helping others cope with problems of adjustment. His training often results in a master's degree in education, psychology, or social work, sometimes less, sometimes a doctorate. He is employed by a variety of institutions in the belief that his services will help them accomplish their ends, which are not always patently the same as his.

WHO RECEIVES COUNSELING?

Although anyone at any time from pre-school age to beyond retirement may receive counseling, the probability of clienthood is not random but varies with the age and circumstances of the individual. Most counseling experts believe the major purpose of counseling to be developmental in that it aids the individual in coping with those tasks which represent society's expectations for him. This view suggests that the child in kindergarten learning to relate to a strange but important adult, the teacher, and the elderly person learning

to live without the structure imposed on his life by a job are both needful of counseling. By extension the strict adherents of the developmental view of counseling believe that anyone at any time is coping with developmental tasks and therefore might profit from counseling. However, the provision of counseling is more usually confined to culturally expected times of personal definition. Personal definitions evolve from decision-making activities which answer the questions, What shall I study? What work shall I do? Whom shall I marry? How shall I use my life? These questions tend to be answered at choice points, for example, at entry or departure from school or college, at branches in the career line, and at the time of marriage. These culturally sanctioned choosing activities are by no means purely ceremonial nor time-bound. In a rapidly changing society, choosing and defining is a continuing process. Education is a lifelong activity; careers require repeated occupational choices. Values do not stay in the bank but must be re-examined, re-evaluated, and re-invested.

Because the schools are one of the major social institutions for inducting the child into society, they have been especially active in the provision of counseling. Therefore, a person in school, any time from kindergarten through graduate school, is more apt to receive counseling than one who is not in school, because the schools feel some responsibility for his decisions and because the counseling services are present and available—and that's why mountains get climbed.

Some seek counseling and some have it thrust upon them. Differences between the voluntary and involuntary client are not clear but hints from several directions suggest that a systematic selection process determines both a person's likelihood of receiving counseling and the type of counseling he will receive.

People in trouble are more likely than others to receive counseling. The imprisoned, those with disturbed families, and the unemployed may find themselves clients—willingly or not. The purpose of their counseling is to get them back on the track, to make them once more invisible, or, more charitably, to habilitate or rehabilitate them, to use their trouble as a stimulus for reconsidering and then changing or reavowing their values.

Counseling in this framework has been labeled remedial and contrasted with the previously described developmental counseling. Most present-day counseling is probably remedial—for the child who is failing in school, the child who is troubling adults, the injured who must seek new work, the victim of automation.

Research on mental illness indicates that the middle-class person with emotional problems is more likely to receive psychotherapy than his lower-class counterpart. Some very tentative findings regarding school counseling suggest that the middle-class youth is most apt to seek school guidance voluntarily to secure vocational information while the lower-class youth is most apt to find himself an involuntary client "counseled" about his misbehavior in school. (It is possible that involuntary school counseling is the psychotherapy of the poor!)

Another determiner of the likelihood and nature of counseling may be career saliency. Career saliency—the commitment that a person has to his work and its psychological importance to him—has been used to separate those whose work is ego-involving from those whose work is society-maintaining. Workers who are ego-involved in their vocations tend to be professionals in the higher socioeconomic levels, to invest much of themselves in their job, to have a social life peopled by those in their professional life, and to make their work a deep expression of their nature. Workers who have jobs that are necessary for the maintenance of society, but are not ego-involved in them, make sharper distinctions between work and leisure, find their meaning and purpose less in their work than in their other activities and relationships, and may have selected their occupations more casually. For a variety of reasons stemming from ability, social status, and a tradition of the importance of work, those in ego-involving jobs may seek and use counseling to help decide among the many possible occupations open to them because they foresee that their vocational decisions will be of great importance in determining their total way of life. The society-maintaining worker may place less value on his less rewarding work, have fewer occupational choices available to him, be more interested in finding a necessary job (because of that incident in Eden) than in planning a career, and consequently be less likely to seek counseling.

Egalitarianism and democratic values and slogans should not blind us to the possibility that vocational counseling is in fact more useful and more appropriate to the ego-involved worker than to the society-maintaining one. Work is more central and important to the former than to the latter, it is more an expression of his personality and values, more work opportunities are available to him, and he is freer to choose because he is less the prisoner of circumstances. Perhaps counseling, which gives help in deciding, is the treatment of choice for the ego-involved worker, while placement, which gives help in securing a job, is the treatment of choice for the society-maintaining worker. (Before throwing out this idea as elitist arrogance, the reader should spend a few months doing vocational counseling with low-ability clients from backgrounds that have taught them to expect little in the way of satisfaction or self-expression from their work.) Counseling tends to be done by people to whom work is satisfying, meaningful, and a major determinant of their identity and sense of self-worth. Therefore, the importance of vocational counseling seems great to them because its consequences are far-reaching, for work justifies their existence and their jobs constitute their calling card and their price tag. Not everyone views work in this way. For many, work is an inescapable, meaningless treadmill, and the distinctions among treadmills are not often differences. Eric Hoffer writes in *The Ordeal of Change*, "That free men should be willing to work day after day, even after their vital needs are satisfied and that work should be seen as a mark of uprightness and manly worth, is not only unparalleled in history but remains more or less incomprehensible to many people outside the Occident." He might have added that it also remains more or less incomprehensible to many

people within the Occident who do not share the middle-class worker's job satisfaction and sense of righteousness. (If some economists are correct in their predictions of the effect of technological changes, in the future fewer workers will be needed to produce our goods and supply services. Then our present attitudes toward work may seem increasingly quaint as we search for a moral equivalent for work while moving from a "doing" to a "being" culture—one which values personal qualities more than vocational success.)

Who is counseled? Some, who want help in selecting among the many good things in life, seek and secure counseling. Others, who are seen as social "problems," are sought out and given counseling as an accompaniment to the lament of the ego-involved middle-class workers with regard to their society-maintaining lower-class brothers, "Why can't *they* be more like us?"

WHAT ARE ITS PURPOSES?

What kind of society provides professional counseling for its citizens? One which offers a rich variety of opportunities, one which believes that the sum of informed individual decisions is wiser than a few centrally determined ones, one based on the premise that each person is potentially capable of deciding what is best for him, one which thinks that the conflict between social and individual goals is lessened when information is supplied to decision-makers, one in which the mores permit asking for help and discussing personal problems. Professional counseling, indigenous to the United States, is accepted and expected here more than in other countries because the United States most nearly meets the above requirements.

However, as other countries develop more complex educational systems requiring more choices on the part of students, they see the need for counseling and begin to provide it. When a child is given or denied education on the basis of test results, family status, or teacher judgment, counseling is not needed because the decision is not the child's or his parents'. But as other countries keep students in school longer, they find it necessary to provide more kinds of education to care for the variety of students. Then if the decision regarding which kind of education the student will have is shared by the authorities with the student or his parents, counseling becomes helpful and even necessary for informed decision-making. Many countries moving toward more free choices by their students do, in fact, move toward more interest in and greater development of counseling. Increasingly complex economies, more permeable class barriers, and shifting social forms and personal values also characterize the countries which make counseling more available.

Why do countries of this kind invest valuable personal and financial resources in professional counseling? Because they believe that counseling will perform socially important functions needed by society. From the standpoint of society, the purposes of counseling include the meeting of three important social needs—the development of the potentiality of its citizens, the proper distribution of workers to meet manpower needs, and the control

of unwanted and disturbing deviancy. These purposes are not always compatible, and an uneasy truce exists among the advocates of each purpose. The first two tend to be manifest; the third, latent.

Develop Potential

Counseling furthers the development of the potentiality of clients by enabling them to examine their characteristics—both strengths and weaknesses—and consider how best they can use themselves in activities that hold promise of self-actualization. It enables them to lead an examined life in which they consciously translate their values into behavior compatible with their beliefs. It faces clients with conceptions of the good life and asks that they choose among them and assume the responsibility of their choices. By its emphasis on the importance of individual fulfillment such counseling may result in the apparent thwarting of immediate societal needs and desires. Not every act of civil disobedience is performed by a Thoreau. Not every banker who abandons his family and job for art has the talent of Gauguin. Not every man who turns his back at age 30 on a successful, scholarly career is a Schweitzer. Counseling for the development of potentialities runs risks and demands sharing of the belief that "If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music that he hears, however measured or far away." At a higher level, the purpose of personal development is reconciled and synthesized with societal purposes by the assumption, or faith, that when individuals do what is best for them the sum of their action is best for society. This acceptable reconciliation is not always sufficient, however, to allay the anxiety engendered when a bright student elects not to go to college, when a gifted cellist chooses to work as an electrician, when a draft-age boy defies society and refuses to perform his military duty.

Distribute Manpower

Counseling as an aid in meeting societal manpower needs finds much favor among policy-makers. Do we lag in the space race? Let us train counselors to discover hidden talents which then can be used to enable us to catch up. Are we short of teachers, nurses, and mobile home park managers? Let us ask counselors to point out these facts to youth who are planning their careers in the belief that more will be persuaded to follow these insufficiently traveled paths. Are there too many girls who want to be airline hostesses and too few who want to be nurses' aides? Counseling is called for. Are too many applying for admission to Harvard and too few to Slippery Rock? Call out the counselors.

The expectations from counselors produced by the desire for proper manpower distribution are not necessarily inimical to the counseling function. Knowledge of manpower needs is helpful to youth who are making vocational decisions. Most of them must come to terms with economic realities. Few any longer insist on being coopers or fletchers. However, manpower needs are not always seen clearly far enough into the future to provide a solid base for

life planning by the young. The counselor who in 1967 tells the 15-year-old youth that plumbers are now in short supply and will be so in the future, can really know very little about life in 1992, the time when the youth will be at the peak of his working years. Therefore, danger accompanies occupational planning based on the extrapolation of presently perceived manpower needs. (Alarm in the mid-1940's that too many were going into engineering led to the prediction of an oversupply of engineers!)

Value judgments, which are the very substance of manpower needs, are rarely made explicit. Is America's greatest need for scientists who will develop yet another form of overkill? Or should our priorities favor political scientists, philosophers, or even psychologists? How many housewives are needed to equal the social value of one woman advertising manager?

(And, the most radical question of all, must the distribution of workers be forever determined by the manpower needs of our nation or dare we dream of a Utopia in which the manpower needs are determined by the interest, characteristics, and genius of the people? Must a job always and forever be purely instrumental — simply a way of helping society do something which society wants to do, such as defend itself and control its citizens while furnishing them with the chrome-plated trappings of societal success? Or is it possible that a job should be expressive — a way of permitting an individual to make a vocational declaration of his nature? What would be the consequences of creating jobs to fit people, rather than starving, cajoling, and bribing people to fit jobs?)

The official American myth is that the sum of free vocational choices by all citizens will somehow magically equal the total job needs of society. Of course, this is not so and nobody really believes it to be. Not as many men as are needed want to be soldiers, or to work on assembly lines; not as many women as are needed want to assemble television sets, or to serve meals in restaurants. However, the dynamic taut balance between the development of potentiality — work that is most meaningful and expressive of the individual — and the meeting of communal needs — work that must be done to preserve society — is at the core of the professional counseling process. The amalgam of individual and social goals constitutes present reality. The tyranny of individual goals might be equated with anarchy: of social goals, with tyranny. Family and marital counseling are also frequently characterized by the consideration and reconciliation of individual desires with needs which reflect the group will. Counseling at all its levels of sophistication seeks an acceptable solution to the predicament of civilized man — in a strengthening of his ego at the expense of lawless id and societal superego.

Control Deviancy

Counseling is used as a method of controlling undesirable deviancy. This counseling for conformity to "reasonable" social standards is sometimes defended by stating that if the deviant is helped to understand his own best interest, he will behave in accordance with the wishes of society. More frequently, this counseling purpose is denied, hidden, and disguised as coun-

seling for manpower or personal development, with no recognition of its frankly controlling purpose. Because of continual value shifts, intergenerational conflict accretes both the young and their elders. Then, the latter use every weapon available to socialize and tame the troublemaking youth. Counseling is sometimes used as such a weapon. In some schools and colleges the counselor regularly "counsels" with the student who is a discipline problem. This practice, however, is considered a reactionary one in most schools and the message to the counselor has become more subtle. No longer is the counselor told, "It's your job to make the misbehaving behave." Now, he is told, "Help this child reach his full potential. To do so, he will need to take account of social reality and when he does that he will stop misbehaving, won't he?" The delinquent, the prisoner, the sexually promiscuous, the couple planning a divorce, the underachiever, the traffic violator, all are subject to more or less involuntary counseling. The purpose of such counseling is to persuade them to conform to society's desires for them, even at the perhaps unreasonable expense of their own wishes. A society which has forgone birching for more enlightened methods still has the same need for control of its citizens, but now must rely on more subtle techniques. The provision of counseling, with its connotations of individual responsibility, freedom, and uplift, is anxiety-reducing for society. To provide counseling is to merit the feeling that we have done our humane best, and thus, that more painful and expensive remedies can be withheld.

The anxiety-reducing function of counseling is particularly evident in the recent work with the disadvantaged. It is cheaper, financially and psychologically, to provide the unemployed, uneducated urban Negro with counseling than it is to give him acceptance, jobs, housing, political and economic power, and dignity. Of course, he needs all of these things, as well as counseling, but society's system of priorities is sometimes curious and its motives questionable. One counselor may have in mind as a goal of counseling the client's "adjustment," that is, his placid acceptance of social injustice, meaningless work, and substandard living. Another may hope to arouse the client to creative confrontation with a world he never made—a confrontation that may be disturbing to society, violent in its technique, and not apt to validate the worthwhileness of counseling in the minds of those who sponsor and pay the counselor.

This third purpose of counseling—that of controlling undesirable deviancy—poses such a threat to counselors and their employers that it is rarely examined. The professional counselor may feel prostituted when he counsels with such a purpose. But the employer may feel cheated if the counselor fails to use his skills to suppress undesirable deviancy. Both find it easier to ignore the matter, for its airing might force some counselors to see themselves as instruments for social manipulation, some employers to realize they do not want counseling in their institution if development of potentiality entails boat-rocking, some legislators to regret their votes for counseling funds if counseling is to be more than a method of sorting the right people into the right jobs and the persuading of those out-of-step to get back into step. A dialogue between

those who see counseling as an instrument of liberation and those who see it as an instrument of conformity would be so dangerous to both sides that it is avoided. Its outcome is unpredictable. Parents want children counseled but what do they understand by the term — subtle adult guidance for adjustment to the world that is, or confrontation with the terrible, chartless responsibility of life-building in a time when work, love, and sex may develop new and previously unsanctioned meanings? The community wants the disadvantaged counseled, but do they seek as an outcome predictable, middle-class wishes and behavior, or the possibility of programs such as Fanon sets forth for the wretched of the earth — a violent turn away from the values of contemporary civilization? How many choices considered in counseling are equivalent to Henry Ford's "Any color they want so long as it's black"? But, of course, a society has a right to reasonable protection against deviancy. The question becomes, "Should any weapon be used?" Is all fair in socialization, or should counseling be reserved for other purposes?

SUMMARY

The complexity of our society, the many opportunities and choices offered by it, the intergenerational value gap, and the American belief in the importance of the individual all argue for the necessity of counseling. While not unique to America, it is more developed here than in other countries.

Counseling in America occurs at many levels of expertise, from that of the fortuitously available confidante to the professional with specialized knowledge of the area of concern, to the professional counselor skilled in aiding the process of life examination and decision-making. Its purpose is to help the client understand the realities of his situation, including the facts and feelings that exist, and to make reasonable and informed choices among the possibilities open to him. Clients use it voluntarily to aid in coping with the tasks set before them by society, while society may press it upon the individual who is seen as a social problem. A variety of techniques and tools are used, depending upon such factors as the level of professionalism of the counselor, the client and his concern, and the institutional press generated by the counselor's employer.

Society supports counseling because of a belief in the importance of the development of individual potentiality, the press of manpower allocation problems, and the faith that counseling is an effective method of reconciling personal and professional goals. Counseling is also used to control deviancy, although the legitimacy of this activity remains moot.

To enable counseling to be used effectively and appropriately, continued reassessment of its goals, its techniques, and its relationship to other activities is needed to guide society in the wise allocation of resources to counseling, and in the building of reasonable expectations of counseling and counselors. Without wise allocation and reasonable expectation, we assure the country of disappointment in counseling, the counselor of frustration, and the individual who needs counseling of inadequate social resources.

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RUTH STRANG

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Autobiography

Upon reaching the mandatory retirement age of sixty-five at Columbia University, I continued my work at the University of California at Berkeley during the 1960 summer session. In the fall of 1960 I moved to the University of Arizona, where I had been invited to develop the reading program. Having served there as professor of education for eight years, three years beyond the specified retirement age, I left the University of Arizona in June, 1968, and accepted the position of Sandiford professor at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

My educational background includes attendance at Adelphi Academy in Brooklyn. Following graduation from high school I studied household science at Pratt Institute. Five years later, in 1922, I obtained the B.S. in home economics with a major in nutrition, and in 1924 an M.A. degree, while at the same time working as research assistant in nutrition at Teachers College. While studying for the Ph.D. degree, conferred in 1926, I was an instructor in health education, supervisor of health education at Teachers College's Horace Mann School (1924-25), and research assistant in psychology (1925-26).

My career has been unplanned, unguided; it evolved as opportunities presented themselves. As I developed interest and abilities, doors seemed to open. Having decided to be a teacher, I realized I would need to be broadly educated in order to help children and young people develop their many-sided potentialities.

After a year as an assistant to an interior decorator in New York City, my work in education began by teaching home economics from 1917 to 1920 to disadvantaged children in the New York City public schools.

When I had completed work for the doctorate, I accepted a research fellowship at Teachers College in student personnel. During the summers of 1926, 1927, and 1928 at North Carolina College for Women I served as head of residence and instructor in child psychology. From 1929 to 1936, I held the title of assistant

professor of education at Teachers College, was appointed as associate professor in 1936, and served as full professor from 1940 to 1960.

Up to 1940 much of my work was in the Department of Guidance and Student Personnel Administration. My major responsibilities were teaching and building up the professional subject matter in this field, in which very little had been published when I began my work in the mid-1920's. From 1935 to 1960 I was editor of the *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors*.

During these years I also had many other professional interests: in the areas of rural education through my work in the Alliance for Guidance of Rural Youth; mental health; in health education through joint authorship of the Macmillan Health and Growth series for grades one to nine; in child psychology, to which I contributed *An Introduction to Child Study*, first published by Macmillan in 1930 and now in the fourth edition, and *The Adolescent Views Himself: A Psychology of Adolescence*.

Because of my concern for helping young people reach their full potential, I became interested in the gifted child and worked with Pauline Williamson, Paul Witty, Marjorie Craig, and others in the American Association for Gifted Children. One of the association's publications, *Guideposts for the Education of the Gifted*, described ways in which administrators, teachers, parents, and the children themselves can cooperate to overcome the social and psychological obstacles that often hamper the development of brilliant students.

Recognizing the close relationship between guidance problems and failure in reading, I have given special attention to the improvement of reading since 1933. In addition to my program in student personnel administration, I developed and directed the high school and college reading center at Teachers College and, from 1960 to 1968, a similar center at the University of Arizona. Up to 1968 I have been active in the International Reading Association as a member of the board of directors, chairman of committees, and speaker of the national conventions. My emphasis has been on the broad view of reading, including both the development of reading abilities and personal development through reading.

While at Teachers College, and following my retirement in 1960, I have enjoyed participating in the summer reading conferences and in teaching courses at the University of Chicago, the University of Colorado, Syracuse University, the University of California at Berkeley, and other schools and colleges. In the summer of 1966 I conducted an NDEA institute in reading at the University of Arizona, and a USOE Experienced Teacher Fellowship Program during the academic years 1967-68.

In contrast with the large research subsidies now being granted to individuals and groups, the financial assistance I have received for research has been practically nil. I have carried on my few research studies and have written my reviews of the literature, books, and articles on my own initiative, on my own time, and at my own expense. The only special financial assistance that I have received was a small grant in 1940 from the research committee of *Life* and *Time* magazines. The resulting study, *Explorations in Reading Patterns*, was published by the University of Chicago Press. Although I have published a number of books, chapters, and articles each year, I do not write quickly and easily but rather work hard and long on every book and article.

Among the organizations with which I have been associated, I have found most stimulating my membership, and chairmanship in 1960, of the National Society

for the Study of Education. As chairman or member of several of the society's annual yearbooks, I have felt a sense of accomplishment in the production of books of high quality. As a long-standing member of the American Educational Research Association, I have served as chairman and as contributor to several volumes of the *Review of Educational Research*. It was a similar satisfaction to contribute to two of the *Yearbooks of Education* prepared jointly by representatives of the University of London and Teachers College, Columbia University. As a fellow of the American Psychological Association, the American Public Health Association, and Her Majesty's Royal Society of Health, and as a member of Sigma Xi, Kappa Delta Pi, Pi Lambda Theta, and other societies, I have been helped to keep informed on many aspects of education and related disciplines.

To my French background on my father's side, whose ancestor Daniel L'Strange came to the United States in 1685 during the persecution of the Huguenots under Louis XIV and taught French and philosophy at King's College, New York City, I attribute whatever originality I possess and my enjoyment of a good theory. From my mother's Norwegian and Dutch background I may have derived my tendency to translate theory into practice.

Born on April 3, 1895, and growing up on a farm until about ten years of age in a then-rural section of greater New York, I acquired a deep love of nature and a permanent interest in rural life, although the rest of my life, while teaching at Columbia University for almost forty years, was definitely urban.

My work has always been so exacting and demanding that social activities other than those directly related to my work have been crowded out. My chief satisfactions have been the responsiveness of classes and other audiences, the success and friendship of my students, the excitement of new ideas, and the "things of beauty" that John Keats describes.

Guidance Viewed Broadly

Most of the current professional literature emphasizes that guidance is no longer viewed only as a specialized or limited service. Guidance is now accepted as a vital aspect of the total educational program. Ruth Strang has skillfully described this concept in her article. She defines guidance as a process for helping all individuals develop their best potentialities. Guidance, in Strang's view, is not an end result. "Learning how to solve problems is more important than the solution of a specific problem." The end result, however, is not unimportant. The product helps to clarify the process.

Strang describes several psychological and sociological concepts and understandings necessary for effective guidance work. She emphasizes a developmental rather than a remedial approach.

DURING FORTY YEARS of interaction with students, the following description of guidance has evolved. It was stated in the first edition of *The Role of the Teacher in Personnel Work* (Strang, 1932). Later it was adopted as the

definition for the *Yearbook of Education* (Hall and Lauwerys, 1955), prepared by a joint committee of the University of London and Teachers College, Columbia University. This brief description of guidance, which has a "deceptive simplicity," will provide the structure for my current point of view:

Guidance is a process of helping every individual, through his own efforts, to discover and develop his best potentialities for his personal happiness and social usefulness.

GUIDANCE AS A PROCESS

Guidance is a process, not an end result. Learning how to solve problems is more important than the solution of a specific problem. If the individual is aware of the method he uses, he can generalize and apply it to other life situations.

The end result, however, is not unimportant. The product helps to clarify the process. By retrospection the individual can trace the steps that he took, the false starts that he made, the logical thinking that he employed, and the information that he lacked. A satisfactory solution reinforces the individual's confidence in the method by which he arrived at the solution.

Guidance is a learning process; it is governed by learning theory. First of all, learning takes place in a relation of trust, positive regard, and respect for the individual. Carl Rogers (1962) puts relationship above technique as a condition of effective counseling and psychotherapy. Sincerity, "an accurate empathic understanding," positive regard, and "unconditionality of regard" are all involved in a relationship between counselor and client that determines the effectiveness of his work. The quality of the relationship depends on the personality of the guide and especially on his insight into his own and his counselee's motives and feelings.

Second, learning is reinforced by approval and praise; the repetition of an act is contingent upon the satisfaction associated with a previous experience. Any move in the right direction is rewarded; negative responses are, for the time being, ignored. Accordingly, the guidance worker "accentuates the positive." For example, in an interview when a child who had been concerned about his being adopted said, "It doesn't matter," the counselor responded, "You're right; it really doesn't matter. Your present parents love you very much."

Third, and closely allied to reinforcement theory, is the counselor's attitude of positive expectancy. His expectancy should be realistic, the goal one that the individual can reach with reasonable effort, neither so high that it cannot be achieved nor so low that its accomplishment brings little or no satisfaction. Recent experiments have shown that when teachers expect certain children to make exceptional progress, even if the expectation is not based on fact, these children actually achieve more than they otherwise would. In his conferences with teachers, the counselor therefore emphasizes the individual's strengths and assets; he presents deficits as something that can be corrected.

Fourth, the influence of the past and the future must be recognized. Time past, time present, and time future are all involved in the guidance process.

There is a certain psychological predestination resulting from the way the individual has responded to his past experience. The field theory calls attention to the positive and negative attractions and repulsions, pulls and pushes in the present. One's decisions and actions are also guided by hope or by fears of the future. For example, some adolescents cease to put forth effort when they perceive the future is lacking in opportunities for them.

Fifth, the guidance worker recognizes the role of the self-concept in individual development and achievement. The individual's self-concept is determined, to a great extent, by his acceptance or rejection by persons who are important in his life. The mother's methods of control have an important guidance influence. Hess and Shipman (1965) found some mothers who took over the task assigned to the child or gave help before the child really needed it, thus depriving him of the experience of success. Some mothers made disparaging remarks such as, "What makes you so slow! You're not half finished yet," while other mothers encouraged the child by saying, "You're half finished already."

As the child grows older, the opinions of people may become less important in the building of his self-concept than actual experiences of success. He needs to demonstrate his competency to himself and convince himself that he can learn.

Sixth, the influence of the environment on personality development as well as on physical growth is recognized by Piaget and other psychologists. Perhaps the most important role of the guidance worker is to set the stake for success. He has the advantage of having accurate information about the individual's ability, interests, and background. He also has some control over the environment. The teacher has still more control and can match the learning experience with the student's abilities at a given moment. If he makes a "good match," the student will succeed in the task, associate the experience with pleasure, and tend to repeat it.

Seventh, a dynamic theory of personality gives a prominent place to the development of ego-strength (Hummel, 1962). The guidance worker is concerned with ego-building, either directly in the counseling situation or indirectly by working with and through teachers and the environment. He shares his understanding of the individual so that the resourceful teacher will provide experiences that are both challenging and capable of being successfully completed by the student.

In all aspects of his work with individual students, with teachers and other professional associates, and with environmental conditions, the guidance worker uses many principles of psychology: the interpersonal relationship theory of Rogers; the reinforcement theory of Skinner; the operant conditioning and contingency theory of Bijou and others; the self-actualization emphasis of Maslow; the field theory of Lewin; the self-concept described by Snygg and Combs, and others; the "good match" of J. McV. Hunt; the "proactive, future-oriented growth emphasis" of Gordon Allport, and the motivation through hope and fear described by Mowrer. All these psychological theories may influence the complex guidance and counseling process.

The guidance process is influenced sociologically as well as psychologically. Guidance takes place in a rapidly changing social setting, not within the four walls of a counselor's office or inside a school or college building. What happens outside affects the counselor's role and the nature and content of counseling (Wrenn, 1962).

HELPING EVERY INDIVIDUAL

This second phase of the description of guidance emphasizes the developmental rather than the remedial aspect of guidance. It assumes that every individual has unrealized potentialities that can be discovered and developed. It is concerned more with potentialities than with problems. Guidance should be a continuous process available for all.

Our society and our schools tend to be problem-oriented. Surveys of the functions of personnel workers have shown a preponderance of time spent on solving problems, rather than on creating conditions that would prevent problems. A survey in the 1940's on three educational levels in New York state showed that study problems and failure in academic work, discipline, and social problems occupied the largest part of the guidance worker's time.

Whether counselors should handle discipline problems has been a controversial question. Those who would eliminate discipline from the counselor's role argue that the administration of penalties destroys the relationships essential to effective counseling, and that dealing with discipline problems usurps the counselor's time that should be spent in more constructive ways. Those who think that discipline problems should come to the counselor's attention view "discipline" in the original meaning of the word, as "treatment suitable for a disciple or learner." So considered, discipline cases should be treated by the person who understands the individual best and has a relationship with him such as Carl Rogers describes. More authorities seem to be accepting the latter point of view.

In order to reach every individual, the guidance worker has introduced various kinds of group procedures. At one time the homeroom, which provided a class-size group devoted specifically to guidance, was popular. For several reasons the homeroom form of organization did not work in many schools as well as had been expected. Group guidance with respect to educational and vocational information and plans has been more successful. Therapy groups have been effective in instances where the leader has been trained in group therapy. These groups have the values of interaction among peers as well as conservation of the counselor's time.

If guidance should be concerned with helping every individual to discover and develop his potentialities, the entire school staff must be involved. The counselor cannot do it single-handedly. This sharing of guidance functions makes discussion of counselor load somewhat meaningless. The number of full-time counselors depends upon many factors, such as the preparation and personality of the teachers, the students' need for individual guidance, and the number and kind of small guidance groups. If teachers and other members of the school staff do not have the guidance point of view and assume their

respective responsibilities, they may actually create more problems than a large staff of specialists could solve.

The role of the teacher in guidance was not generally recognized in the 1930's. At that time guidance was narrowly conceived as a technical task for specially trained persons. The focus was on educational and vocational guidance. There was not the present recognition of the fact that educational and vocational choices and progress involve the whole person, and that an appropriate occupation for an individual expresses the kind of person he is.

It is only recently that the contribution of skillful teaching to mental health has been appreciated, although Frederick Allen, when director of the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic in the 1940's, said that a teacher, working within the area of his competence, though not a therapist, often achieves therapeutic results. More recently Levin in his experience at the Langley Clinic, Los Angeles, and Nicholas Hobbs in his Re-Ed Centers have found skillful teaching to be of central importance in the prevention and treatment of emotional problems.

This recognition of the role of the teacher in guidance is modifying the role of the guidance worker. He is becoming more and more a consultant to teachers. In the elementary school this is the guidance worker's main function. By helping teachers to discover the potentialities of their pupils, to provide experiences in line with each child's present abilities, to build on their strengths, to help them overcome weaknesses, and to reinforce each increment of growth, the guidance worker will make his maximum contribution.

The guidance worker will also conduct conferences with parents. He recognizes the crucial importance of the preschool years — that "well begun is more than half done." He is acquainted with recent research indicating that intellectual and personal development during school years is contingent upon prenatal birth conditions, nutrition — especially protein adequacy in the first year of life — the mother's language pattern and methods of control, and with a generally intellectually stimulating environment. It was James Plant, director of the Newark, New Jersey, Child Guidance Clinic, who predicted years ago that child guidance would become largely parent guidance. A unique feature of child guidance clinics in France is "schools" for parents.

In the secondary schools, the role of the teacher in guidance is also very important. When high school students were asked, "Who has helped you and inspired you most?" they mentioned most frequently a teacher. Teachers welcome the opportunity to confer with the guidance worker and to refer to an expert counselor cases with whom they have neither the time nor the skill to work.

Helping every individual grow in his own best way requires a shift from the remedial or problem approach to the developmental, "individual-in-his-environment" approach.

THROUGH HIS OWN EFFORTS

The responsibility of the individual for his own guidance was dramatized by the "directive versus nondirective" controversy. The directive counselor-

centered technique put responsibility on the counselor for discovering the individual's potentialities and suggesting ways in which they might be developed. The nondirective or client-centered emphasis placed the responsibility more fully on the client. It is not "either-or." Both counselor and client have certain responsibilities.

The emphasis now seems to be more clearly on client initiative. The guidance worker with all the facilities available in the interview, in schools, and in the community tries to create an appropriate, stimulating environment; the client takes the initiative for using this environment. It is important that people in the environment respond appropriately to him. For example, a teacher accepted her students' suggestion that they give a play. A girl who had been putting forth no effort in her academic work was chosen for the lead role. She demonstrated exceptional histrionic ability and won the recognition of students and adults. Subsequently her school grades improved. The experience of success in one area of her life stimulated her to try harder in other areas. The teacher provided the conditions in which the student took the initiative to develop a special talent.

If individual initiative is to be encouraged, approval and satisfaction must be related to the effort put forth rather than attached merely to the product. The timing of help is important. If assistance is given too soon, it deprives the individual of the stimulation of success. If it is withheld too long, it may result in frustration and a sense of failure.

There are, as Harry Stack Sullivan pointed out, gradients of anxiety. A mild degree of anxiety is a common stimulus to effort, but extreme anxiety often results in passivity or a desire to "leave the field."

Responsibility is learned. It is subject to the principles of learning already mentioned. It is related to the individual's habits of meeting life situations. In this respect children from disadvantaged homes may have an advantage. Life has demanded that they take initiative; if they do not seize the opportunity available at the moment, someone else will. With respect to school work, they must rely upon themselves; they have no one at home to make them do their homework or help them with it. These youngsters have sometimes said to their teachers, "You ought to make us do what we ought to do." Perhaps the counselor should use this approach more often.

TO DISCOVER THEIR POTENTIALITIES

Measuring achievement and predicting future progress have constituted a large part of the counselor's work. However, achievement tests are inadequate in many ways. They do not measure many important aspects of achievement. Their reliability often is not high enough to permit prediction for individuals; they do not yield much diagnostic information that can be used directly to improve instruction.

Test results and teachers' marks are commonly used to predict future achievement of groups on the assumption that the best indication of future progress is a record of the individual's progress in the past. His home back-

ground, habits of work, self-concept, level of aspiration, social relations, and other factors all influence his further progress. But prediction is impossible without knowing the conditions that the individual will face in the future.

Prediction may be detrimental to individuals. It tends to perpetuate the *status quo*. In the case of the disadvantaged student, neither he nor his teacher expects him to rise above the trend of his past achievement. Tests should be used to diagnose rather than to predict; they should "promote status" rather than "determine status" (Hamburger, 1965). Much of the time and money spent on testing might well be devoted to helping teachers to observe more accurately pupils' significant behavior, to interpret their observations accurately and cautiously, and to use them as soon as possible to help the pupils learn more effectively.

To discover an individual's *potentialities* presents still more difficulties. For example, a teacher wants to know whether a student has the potential ability to read better. Group verbal intelligence tests will not give him the answer. Their correlation with group reading tests is so high in relation to the reliability of each that discrepancies arise primarily because of errors of measurement in the two tests. If a nonverbal form is used, the discrepancies are probably a little more meaningful, but difference scores still call for very tentative interpretation.

Scores on individual intelligence tests, interpreted in connection with all the other information about home background, special handicaps, and the like, are more useful in indicating mental potential for school achievement. If, for example, the Wechsler verbal scale score is high, verbal potential to read better is indicated. If the performance scale score is seventeen or more points above the verbal, prognosis for improvement in reading is favorable. Certain subtest scores on the Wechsler (Information, Arithmetic, and Coding) are frequently relatively low for retarded readers; other subtest scores (Picture Completion, Picture Arrangement, Object Assembly, Block Design, and Coding) tend to be relatively high for this group.

If guidance workers use standardized tests, they should learn as much as possible about what the test scores mean and how they may have been influenced by personal and environmental factors. By extracting from the test results their tentative diagnostic value, the counselor may help to bridge the gap between obtaining information about the student and doing something constructive about it.

TO DEVELOP THEIR POTENTIALITIES

The proportion of time spent on treatment should, in most instances, be increased with reference to the time spent in diagnosis. A good rule is to obtain only data that can be used effectively with the staff and facilities available.

Much valuable diagnostic information is wasted because it is left in solitary confinement in the files; it does not get into the minds of those who can do something about it—teachers, parents, students, and sometimes the school board and the public.

The guidance worker has many avenues for helping individuals develop their

potentialities. Individual counseling first comes to mind. In a relationship of mutual respect and trust, counselor and client embark on a joint quest to discover and plan for the development of the client's potentialities. In this process the counselor also learns and grows. Somewhat allied with individual counseling are group discussions and group therapy sessions.

Conferences with parents may be helpful not only to school children but also to the preschool children who will later come to school ready or unready to learn.

Creating conditions in which the individual can discover and develop his potentialities is an important part of guidance that focuses on changing the environment rather than on changing the individual directly. A specialized aspect of this is known as "milieu therapy."

Conferences with teachers about individual students are most valuable when they, too, take the form of a "joint quest"; teacher and guidance worker each contributes in the area of his special competencies. Individual contacts with teachers may be supplemented by study groups, institutes and workshops designed to help teachers do better the guidance work they are now doing.

From his vantage point of intimate knowledge of students' needs and problems, the guidance worker can discuss with administrators, committees, and lay groups changes in the school and community that will be conducive to the best development of every individual.

FOR THEIR PERSONAL HAPPINESS AND SOCIAL USEFULNESS

Happiness has been variously defined: as a by-product of successful activity, and as fulfillment of one's potentialities. Bernard Shaw said that his happiness began when he gave up wanting to do the things he could not do and began working on the things he could accomplish. In this sense happiness is related to a realistic level of aspiration. It should not be confused with the present "fun-oriented" society, which Joseph Wood Krutch finds associated with violence and philosophical despair, boredom and frustration leading to pessimism on the part of the thoughtful, and violence as "the inevitable reaction of those who do not analyze their frustration" (Krutch, 1967).

Defined as a concomitant of self-actualization, happiness should result from effective guidance. However, it is not usually stated as an objective of guidance.

"Social usefulness" involves values. Values are basic. They are built into the self-concept; they guide behavior. Gordon Allport (1962) considered two attitudes of major importance for the counselor to keep in mind: "tentativeness of outlook" and a "firm commitment to chosen values."

A goal of the guidance worker might well be, in the words of André Malraux, to open a window for young people "by which they can escape the rigors of technocracy, the aggressiveness of advertising, the need always to make more money for leisure activities which are, for the most part, violent or vulgar" (Collins and Lapierre, 1968).

A few years ago the counselor was urged to be neutral, for fear of imposing his values upon the young person. That point of view seems to be changing. Carl Rogers (1962) described the counselor as a person whom "we somehow trust, because we sense that . . . we are dealing with the person himself, not with a polite or professional facade." Knowing the counselor's values is helpful to many young people in making their decisions.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

Many strands and the experience and thoughts of many persons have entered into this view of guidance as it has evolved in my own mind over a period of almost fifty years. It is a philosophy that focuses on the individual in the process of attaining, through his own efforts and understanding facilitated by wise and sensitive guidance, his most acceptable self.

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Autobiography

I was born in 1900, on a farm in northeastern Kansas. My father was successively a farmer-teacher, a teacher, and for more than thirty years a superintendent of small-town schools. My mother was a teacher before her marriage and again when I reached school age. My sister and only sibling, Ora May, was born when I was 15 years old.

My childhood and adolescence were singularly free of problems and disappointments. Like most teachers in small-town schools my parents moved frequently, but I soon made new friends and adjusted to each new environment. I learned rather easily and proceeded readily through the comparatively simple curriculum of the early 1900's. My home life was congenial and happy. My parents were fond of each other and of me but not demonstrative about it, a fact which I liked.

At the age of 16, I entered the Kansas State Teachers College in Emporia, where my father was completing study for a degree. At the end of my sophomore year, I took a life certificate for teaching in the Kansas schools (this was possible at that time after two years of college work). So, at the age of 18, I went out for one year, with no teaching experience except a minimum of practice teaching, to the superintendency of schools in a little town in the wheat belt of west central Kansas. It was a fairly rough year, in which I'm sure I learned more than my high school students did. The following summer I returned to school in Emporia, and by taking a large number of courses and working fairly hard I accumulated enough credits to graduate with my class in the early summer of 1920.

During my senior year, two important things happened to me. I had a favorite professor, Willis H. Carothers, who helped me set some definite goals for myself, and I met a freshman girl, Bobbi Yearout, a superb student and soon an enthusiastic leader in campus activities. Never one to let a good thing get away if I could help it, I married the girl soon after she was graduated from college.

After three more years as a superintendent of small Kansas schools, I entered the University of Chicago and obtained a master's degree in the School of Education. Bobbi and I then spent four pleasant and worthwhile years at the Wakefield, Kansas, Rural High School, with myself as principal and she as one of eight high school teachers. I taught practically everything that the other teachers couldn't or wouldn't teach and even coached a successful football team, an incongruous achievement for one of my diminutive stature.

After the four years at Wakefield, we returned to Chicago, and I began studying for my doctorate in the Department of Education. During that period, I was for a number of years under the influence of a most remarkable group of professional educators — Charles H. Judd, Frank N. Freeman, William S. Gray, Guy T. Buswell, Karl Holzinger, Henry Morrison, Claude Reavis, Franklin Bobbitt, Leonard V. Koos, Newton Edwards, Frederick S. Breed, and others. They did not merely teach research; their lives were oriented toward research, which they practiced with a kind of religious fervor. No student could long remain in that environment without becoming a convert. Most of the techniques I learned have long since been outmoded, but attitudes, values, and commitment to ideas do not so readily go out of date. After taking a Ph.D. in 1932, I stayed on at Chicago for a while as psychologist and guidance chairman in the University High School.

In the fall of 1936, at the invitation of Dr. Ben D. Wood, director, and Mrs. Eleanor Perry Wood, associate director, Bobbi and I joined the staff of the Educational Records Bureau in New York City. For more than a quarter of a century that crowded, intense little island was the center of our lives. Our daughter, Keren, grew from a baby to a young woman there and north of the city in Westchester County. There, working for the Educational Records Bureau, I had ample opportunity to combine administrative, writing, and professional service interests.

The Educational Records Bureau, founded in 1927 as a test service and research organization for member schools, was, and is, a remarkable institution. Under the stimulus of its highly capable founders and board of trustees and with the wise guidance of Dr. and Mrs. Ben D. Wood, a devoted and able staff has from the beginning set an unusually high standard of service to the institutional membership, which in a period of some forty years grew in number from approximately fifty to more than one thousand. Working for that organization was in itself a stimulating educational experience.

In 1965, I became president emeritus of the Educational Records Bureau, and Bobbi and I retired to Miami, Florida. Here I lecture occasionally in the School of Education of the University of Miami, participate in graduate seminars, and serve on the committees of a number of doctoral candidates in reading and guidance. My schedule allows me ample time for professional writing, which has always been a preferred activity of mine.

During a period of some forty years, I have done a good deal of writing and publishing — more than was desirable, I'm sure. The whole of it includes, according to a listing done by my secretary before I left the Bureau, some 320 or more titles. Most of it I regard as pretty minor stuff, but a few things have perhaps some substance. Among these are:

- 1) My textbook, *Techniques of Guidance*, first published in 1945, and the third edition of which was published in 1966 with Dr. Robert D. North as joint author; also, the Humphreys-Traxler-North textbook, *Guidance Services*, the third edition of which was published in 1967;

2) My several contributions to the field of reading, including some books I have coauthored; the periodic summaries of reading research which the ERB staff and I did; some research articles I have written; and some reading and vocabulary tests I have constructed;

3) The reports of some twenty ERB annual educational conferences, which I had the privilege of organizing and editing for publication;

4) Two studies, one for men's colleges and one for women's colleges, which I did with the cooperation of the Bureau staff and some seven hundred colleges, in which I presented one means of appraising institutions of higher learning in the United States. Both studies were reported at annual meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and were subsequently published, and the first attracted more public interest than it deserved. I have a certain fondness for the one dealing with women's colleges, since I was able to do that one after I had suffered a stroke in 1960.

That portion of the broad area of guidance which is educational measurement is my main field and the one which has given me, I believe, my greatest satisfaction. Aside from my long-continued measurement efforts as a staff member of the Educational Records Bureau, I have taught measurement courses summers and part-time in several colleges and universities. In 1947-48, I was one of several measurement specialists who spent some months in Germany working in the educational program there. In the latter 1950's I became involved in an effort to get the federal government to approve the mailing of marked tests and other educational material at an "educational materials" rate. I worked for three years on that project and cooperated with a lot of people, including repeated appearance before Congressional committees. In the end, we were successful, and I believe the effort was worthwhile, since it has probably made a practical contribution to the development of cooperative testing programs throughout the country.

I have been active in several professional organizations and have held offices in three of them — the American Educational Research Association, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the National Council on Measurement in Education. I have served on a good many committees in the fields of measurement, guidance, reading, and research.

But I feel that my main professional contribution, so far as I have contributed anything at all, was through my administrative work at the Educational Records Bureau. That fairly long period of service was made possible through the guidance of Dr. Wood and a highly professional board of trustees, the understanding and cooperation of hundreds of member schools, and the loyalty, intelligence, and great industry and energy of the Bureau staff members I had the privilege of working with, who, I believe, placed the Bureau and its service program in measurement and guidance at or near the top of their value scale and affection.

Guidance and Counseling — An Eclectic Point of View

The eclectic approach to guidance and counseling is concerned with the empirical, not the theoretical. The counselor is a practitioner and must be concerned with human beings, not with justifying a particular counseling

approach. Arthur Traxler points out in his article that the solution of a problem may be less important than the means of obtaining that solution.

Guidance should be available to individuals throughout life. While the counselor necessarily has a "feeling" for people, he also needs certain knowledge to perform effectively.

Traxler's listing of the "elements" of the eclectic position is a meaningful "composite of theory, philosophy, and practice" which will strike a responsive chord in practicing school counselors.

THE VIEW OF guidance and counseling outlined in this paper is eclectic in that it espouses no one of the several existing theories of guidance but undertakes to utilize those aspects of different theories that seem most appropriate for particular situations. It is pragmatic to the extent that it is directed and reconstructed in accordance with changing conditions and with practical outcomes, consequences, and values.

BACKGROUND

The eclectic and pragmatic character of this view of guidance is, to some degree, an historical accident. Guidance, as an identifiable concept somewhat differentiated from teaching, vocational training, and religious and moral indoctrination, did not grow out of any explicitly stated theory or constellation of theories. It arose from a concern for young people and a diffuse but insistent conviction that they were in need of help in making wise choices among opportunities and goals and in adjusting to their contemporaries and to an adult world. Theory developed later to probe, to explain, and to harmonize counseling effort with behavioral circumstances.

At the outset, guidance practices agreed more closely with what is now called the trait theory, or trait-and-factor theory, than with any of the other current theories of guidance. The most pressing concern of the early guidance leaders, such as Frank Parsons of the Vocation Bureau of Boston, was the need to help young men more appropriately distribute themselves to vocational opportunities in accordance with their abilities, interests, and qualities of personality. This need seemed to require, on the one hand, analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of individuals and, on the other, assessment and categorization of available opportunities.

Contemporaneously with the early development of guidance, the methods of science were being introduced into psychology and education. Many tests of basic skills and of more complex abilities directed toward advanced educational and vocational goals became available and began to be used by guidance personnel in studying individuals and groups.

The implicit, if unexpressed, theory behind much of the guidance activity between the first decade of this century and World War II was simple and readily understood by laymen as well as guidance specialists. Through the use of tests and other observational procedures, the school or other guidance unit could be helped to understand an individual, and a person could be helped

to understand himself. At the same time, the educational and vocational opportunities available to the individual could be assessed. Then the individual's attributes, as measured and observed, could be compared with the opportunities open to him until a reasonable match between individual and school curriculum or individual and job could be obtained. This strong tendency to make the distributive function paramount in early guidance efforts was balanced to some extent by emphasis on the adjustive aspect. It soon became apparent to counselors that distribution and adjustment interacted and that they could not be separated in working with counselees.

The foregoing view of guidance was dominant when in the early 1930's I began to work in this field as a psychologist and guidance chairman in the University of Chicago High School. My graduate training had emphasized educational measurement, which, at that time, was regarded by practically all educators as basic to guidance. My newly developed interest in guidance was continued in New York, where I joined the staff of the Educational Records Bureau, an independent, nonprofit organization devoted to educational measurement and maintenance of objective records on individual students.

Among the persons who had a strong influence on my views of guidance prior to World War II were Leonard V. Koos (1932), Edmund G. Williamson (1940), Ben D. Wood (1934), Richard D. Allen (1933 and 1934), Ralph W. Tyler (1934), Eugene R. Smith (1933), Ruth Strang (1937), and many others. Some of these have continued their influence, although perhaps with a somewhat changed emphasis, up to the present time.

During the early history of guidance, theory and practice were dominated by educators and vocational specialists. As the guidance field matured, however, specialists from many other disciplines — psychology, psychiatry, anthropology, sociology, biology, and the physical sciences — began to be active in this area. Theories were spawned, multiplied, and competed for attention with the original trait theory. In particular, learning theory, as formulated by Hilgard, Bruner, and others, and client-centered theory, as set forth by Carl Rogers and his colleagues, have exerted strong, and somewhat divergent, influences on the thinking of persons such as myself who have tended toward eclecticism in viewpoint and practice.

The attitude of modern learning theorists that "scientific psychology of learning has the obligation to go all the way from theory to practice, using criticized data in every step" (Hilgard, 1964) and the concern of Rogers (1961) and his associates with "providing a climate which will permit the client the utmost freedom to become himself," seem, on the one hand, to support the eclectic's belief in a scientific approach to guidance and, on the other hand, to humanize the counseling process and to lead to better understanding of the counselee as the focal point of all guidance.

ELEMENTS OF A GUIDANCE POINT OF VIEW

Although one who takes an eclectic viewpoint occupies a position somewhere between different, and frequently competing, theories of guidance, this position need not be an anomalous one if the essential elements of the posi-

tion are stated and kept clearly in mind. For the most part, the rest of this paper consists of an attempt to provide a statement of this kind. Such a statement represents a composite of the theory, philosophy, and practice of guidance. The elements, as I see them, are these:

1. *All persons have freedom of choice, but the degree of freedom is limited by hereditary and environmental factors in the individual's background, as well as by conditions in his current environment.* The assumption of freedom of choice is basic to all guidance theory and practice, as well as to all methods of education, all religions, every system of jurisprudence, all human relationships, and every aspect of life above the purely automatic level. Virtually everything people do is so permeated with a belief in freedom to choose that most of us accept it as axiomatic. Any question concerning it would seem to be a return to the age-old controversy between free will and predestination. But it is well to remind ourselves that the belief in freedom of choice is an assumption which has not been demonstrated, nor does it seem likely to be demonstrated, even with the aid of modern electronic computers in processing data.

As some contemporary social scientists have pointed out, failure of entirely accurate prediction of outcomes for individuals may be due to lack of complete information on which to base predictions (Muir, 1966). If there were available all the thousands of detailed background data on an individual and his environment, his whole future—or any event in that future—might be wholly predictable. In other words, it is possible that each individual is completely imprisoned by hereditary and environmental influences and able to act only in ways predetermined by those influences.

But since predictions of even relatively uncomplicated behavior, such as performance on specific mental tasks, are seldom of an order higher than 0.80 and are usually considerably lower than that, there is a reasonable presumption of some room for free choice, and guidance and counseling personnel have a sufficient basis for adhering to the assumption that their counselees, and they themselves in their counseling decisions, have at least a modicum of freedom of choice among alternatives. But the very acceptance of this assumption is an act of faith, and consideration of its pros and cons serves as a reminder that freedom is a matter of degree and that no individual is completely free to make choices. Thus, this universal element in guidance philosophy, when considered rationally, should lead to more sympathetic understanding of each counselee as he struggles with his problems. Freedom is a relative matter, and for some individuals in some situations, as, for example, an individual in a disadvantaged environment striving to break out of that environment, freedom of choice may be considerably less than it may seem to a counselor from a more favorable environment.

2. *Every person is a unique personality, and a first responsibility of a counselor, or of anyone else involved in the guidance process, is to respect and protect the counselee's integrity and individuality.* This element was not always evident in early guidance practice, partly because of lack of understanding of individual differences. Sometimes guidance was routinely administered, with

little attention to the uniqueness of individuals. Frequently, information which should have been confidential was revealed to persons unable or unwilling to use it for the benefit of the person being counseled. This was true especially in schools where there was a highly directive concept of guidance. These circumstances still continue to impede guidance effort in some places, but as counseling standards have steadily improved over the years, respect for and protection of counsellee integrity have become characteristic of most guidance programs, even though adherence to this standard has imposed difficult problems for guidance personnel at times. This may be true, for example, in court cases, where professional immunity of counselors to requests for information obtained in confidence may be considerably less, even today, than it is for personnel in older professions such as law or medicine. It is believed that the aspect of the guidance viewpoint presented here is in agreement with the point of view of nearly all persons now engaged in guidance service (APGA Code of Ethics, 1961).

3. *The primary goal of guidance is the maximum development of each individual consistent with his potential and with the welfare of the social group.* A considerable part of the guidance process ostensibly deals with transitory questions and with the immediate problems of distribution of individuals to curriculum offerings and of numerous kinds of personal adjustment. But an ever-present larger goal must constantly be kept in mind—to use every opportunity to make guidance a growth experience for the individual. True, it may be necessary, on occasion, to hold this goal in abeyance because of a current situation so critical that its immediate solution must temporarily take precedence over concern with the more time-consuming growth process. But guidance is most effective, of most lasting value to the individual, not when it helps to solve immediate problems, useful though this may be, but when it stimulates the person to the fullest development of all his powers and interests—so long as these are not in conflict with the welfare of the larger group of which he is a part. The last phrase is a necessary qualification. Encouragement of maximum development of individual ability and interest may need to be balanced at times with education, or even indoctrination, in socially desirable uses of the developed qualities.

4. *Progress toward maximum development of the individual should be an experience shared by counsellee and counselor.* Both counsellee and counselor should participate in reaching decisions pertinent to the counsellee's welfare. There is much difference of professional opinion concerning the point expressed here, and over the years practice regarding it has varied widely. During the early history of guidance, persons acting as counselors often took a prominent part in decision-making, even on occasion telling the counsellee in no uncertain terms what he should do. The nondirective counseling of the 1940's tended to go to the opposite extreme and to relegate the counselor to the role of a sounding board, reflecting back to the counsellee his own thinking. More recently, counseling, as usually practiced, has tended to move toward a middle position. The point of view taken here is that the final decision on any problem is the counsellee's responsibility and that he should take the lead in arriv-

ing at the decision, but that the counselor, out of his greater experience, should volunteer information and suggest and clarify alternatives to assist the counselee in his decision-making. The giving of information and the making of tentative suggestions should not be allowed to become disguised coercion through which the counselor actually becomes the decision-maker.

5. *Counseling should be a learning experience for both counselee and counselor.* Reference here is not so much to learning theory as to the simple fact that both parties to the counseling relationship have much to learn about one another and about the developmental needs of the counselee and ways of satisfying them (Traxler and North, 1966). The counselor must learn to "make haste slowly" and to keep his procedures flexible so that they will be suited to the background and abilities of the counselee, his immediate and long-range problems and goals, and his whole personality. The counselee must learn that the counselor, rather than being the troubleshooter he is often thought to be, is a specialist, in whom he may confide with the assurance that the confidence will be neither revealed nor judged, and by whom all information will be used, to the best of the counselor's ability, to further the counselee's own development. These kinds of learning experiences were seldom taken into account during the early stages of guidance, and they are not always overtly recognized in contemporary guidance practice. But it is believed that they do enter into the guidance relationship in most modern counseling.

6. *Counseling, the central process of guidance, is both science and art, and neither can be effective without the other.* A counselor's effectiveness is increased when he is schooled in the procedures and techniques of science—formulation of hypotheses, collection and organization of data appropriate to the hypothesis or hypotheses, analysis and statistical treatment of the data, and the drawing of conclusions concerning acceptance or rejection of the hypothesis. This kind of understanding is needed by a counselor in order to read and evaluate the research pertinent to his job, even though he may seldom conduct scientific studies himself. He also needs acquaintance with some of the main tools used in the scientific study of behavior—tests, controlled observation, autobiographies, and the like.

But scientific method is likely to be a dull and dreary exercise unless the counselor can breathe life into the results of research through his personal counseling with individual boys and girls. Here, counseling becomes a very sensitive art, guided in part by the broad requirements of the craft but even more by his ability to develop empathy with the counselee and to sense when to remain quiet and when to take the lead in verbalizing the situation and filling gaps in the information the counselee may need. Thus, when the science and the art of counseling complement each other, the counselee is the beneficiary.

7. *Objective information, obtained by the use of tests, inventories, surveys, case histories, biographies, and planned interviews, is a requisite for guidance programs.* The most reliable objective information is obtained from tests. To serve guidance and instructional needs, every school should have a testing program consisting of two aspects: a regular, systematic, all-school testing program

based on comparable tests of scholastic aptitude and achievement chosen by a faculty committee to be consistent with the school's objectives; and a special testing program which utilizes on an individual or small-group basis individual tests of mental ability, diagnostic reading tests, inventories of interests, and occasionally of personal qualities, and other measures chosen especially to meet individual needs. The regular testing program should be administered annually and should be taken by all pupils except handicapped individuals for whom the results would be invalid. The special tests should be given when needed, and they should be used with the full consent and cooperation of the individuals concerned. Appropriate norms, which may or may not be the publishers' national norms, should be used in interpretation of test results.

The testing program envisioned here must be coordinated by a person with a background in psychology and training in psychometrics. He should keep himself well informed concerning the whole field of educational measurement and should make a special attempt to obtain tests appropriate to all cultural levels represented in the school, as well as tests concerned with some of the more recently recognized educational objectives, such as creativity.

But for the backbone of the program, the school will be well advised to adhere to tests of basic skills, verbal and mathematical abilities and achievement, language aptitude and achievement, and tests of achievement in science, social studies, and the other content areas.

Since cognitive factors, as measured by tests of scholastic aptitude and achievement, seldom correlate with criteria of success to a degree higher than .5 or .7, objective or semi-objective information yielded by such techniques as inventories of interest and personal qualities, autobiographies, and interviews have important values in the guidance program and can contribute significantly to counselor insight. At the same time, guidance personnel ought to keep in mind that these techniques tend to be less reliable and valid than the better mental ability and achievement tests, and ought to interpret the information obtained in the light of the validity data for the specific technique employed where such data are available.

8. *A system of comprehensive, well-organized, carefully maintained, up-to-date individual cumulative records is an indispensable aid to a guidance program.* Not only test scores but all significant guidance information concerning the individual should be entered on the record, except that which is obtained in confidence or is so damaging that its entry on the record could be a threat to the person concerned. The main use of cumulative records is in guidance, but these records are also potentially very useful to teachers in planning instruction. Hence, the records should be made available on request to teachers who have the individual in class, preferably in consultation with the counselor or psychometrician.

The data on cumulative records are most readily apprehended and understood if the record is organized in annual columns representing the grades covered by the school unit, such as elementary school or senior high school. Organization by time sequence in this way makes the record inherently a growth record. However, in recent years the necessity of accommodating the

design of cumulative records to the requirements of data processing equipment and press-on labels, in order to relieve increasingly busy school personnel from the clerical burden of handwritten entries, has tended to make arrangement of data in annual columns less feasible than it formerly was. Likewise, the graphic record of test data, which has been one of the most useful features of manually prepared records, does not readily lend itself to treatment by computers unless the computer service is very sophisticated.¹

A comprehensive individual cumulative record covering, let us say, a six-year junior-senior high school record includes hundreds of detailed items of information. The record seems, at first glance, to fractionize the counselee into countless small segments. One might infer that it is adapted to a trait theory of guidance, a theory under which a counselee's detailed attributes would be matched against the details of job opportunities. This, in truth, might be one use of such a record if it were employed in a mechanical way to utilize simply what is entered on the card. But, at the risk of reiterating what may be a cliché, it must be stated that the whole of a cumulative record is greater than the sum of its parts. As I, as well as others of similar persuasion, have been saying for a good many years, when a well-prepared counselor studies a cumulative record with sufficient understanding to interrelate the multitude of specifics, he obtains an impression not simply of numerous details, but of a unitary, developing individual. He gains a new understanding, not entered on the record but resulting from his ability to synthesize widely dispersed specifics and to abstract generalizations. Of course, this kind of impression must be checked against the more informal observations of the counselor as he works with the counselee, and this is exactly what a counselor will do in the faithful performance of his art. He will also reveal the record to the counselee, provided the counselee is mature enough to grasp it, and will help him understand and evaluate it for himself. Thus, it would seem that a well-designed cumulative record can be adapted to counseling purposes regardless of the theoretical persuasion of the counselor.

9. *Under counselor leadership, guidance needs to involve a combined effort of all persons in a position to aid in individual development.* It is assuming as much to expect that the entire job of guidance in a school can be accomplished by trained counselors as it is to hope that school administrators and classroom teachers can carry on a guidance program without trained leadership. Both the leadership of professional counselors and the development of a guidance attitude and understanding on the part of the entire staff are essential. Even in schools that readily meet the Conant (1958) recommendation of one counselor for every 250-300 students, the sheer numerical need is too large to be handled by the counselor alone. If the counselors are able to carry on an adequate program of in-service training, teachers will learn to deal with many minor guidance problems during their daily routine, and their classroom

¹ For an excellent view of the report and record procedures of a highly sophisticated electronic test scoring and computer service, see E. F. Lindquist, "Maximizing the Use of Guidance Data in Individualizing Education," *Modern Educational Developments: Another Look*, pp. 18-35. Report of 30th Educational Conference sponsored by Educational Records Bureau. New York: The Bureau, 1966.

instruction will be correspondingly improved. Also, teachers may, through observation and anecdotal reports to counselors, supply information of much potential value for counseling interviews. Similarly, a program of parent education in the objectives and procedures of the guidance program can lead to closer cooperation of home and school in furthering the development of individual boys and girls and in reducing the incidence of "problems" requiring sustained counselor attention.

10. *Ideally, guidance services should be continuously available to the individual from the prenatal stage to maturity.* As mentioned earlier, attempts at formal guidance were historically begun at the point of vocational employment and soon thereafter were undertaken in various large urban high schools and fairly soon in a number of colleges. During the 1940's, guidance, as a service complementary to instruction, began to be extended downward into elementary schools. In recent years, it has become increasingly clear that the preschool years are often critically important in personal development. It must now be recognized that if the guidance services are ever to become primarily preventive rather than remedial in meeting problems, they must be begun with the parents before the children are born and be made available to the individual until he reaches maturity. This is especially true for persons of less advantaged socioeconomic areas, where the home background is likely to be less conducive to child development than it is where the socioeconomic level is higher.

11. *Counselors must learn to accept and build upon the values held by individuals from all social classes.* This kind of attitude toward the counselor's function is a comparatively recent development. For many years, counselors, either consciously or unconsciously, tended to impose their own values upon their counselees. To some degree, the assimilation by the counselee of the counselor's values is inevitable and tends to be advantageous, for counselors generally hold socially desirable values. But it is known that counselors, as well as teachers, are drawn mainly from a middle-class background, where high value is placed on doing and achieving. Such values usually are conducive to individual success and group material welfare. But a counselor whose value structure is oriented toward these goals may find difficulty in relating to a counselee from either an advantaged or a disadvantaged background where simply *being* may be considered more important than *doing* (Miller, 1961). To make a beginning that promises to lead to development, a counselor must accept, although not necessarily approve, a counselee's value system, and, by starting where the individual is, help to create a climate conducive to self-growth. Bridging the value gap is one of the hardest tasks for a counselor who works in a socioeconomic environment greatly different from his own.

12. *For some aspects of guidance, such as study of occupational opportunities and the maturing of attitudes and development of values, group work is a valuable supplement to individual counseling, and may actually be more effective in some situations.* For example, when considering debatable ethical and moral questions, young people may more readily enter into discussion with contemporaries than with an adult, and their understanding

and development may be better promoted. For more than forty years, group guidance has been used to supplement counselor efforts on an individual basis, and in recent years the value of group procedures has been reaffirmed through research.

13. *Since about 1958, two forces have changed the scope and possibilities of guidance, and even greater changes may be expected in the future.* During the first half-century of guidance history, the growth of school guidance services was greatly retarded by two factors. One of these was the unequal distribution of financial resources and the inability of many school systems to support guidance programs; the other was the very large amount of manual clerical work required in keeping the records which formed a main basis of the scientific aspect of guidance.

During the last decade, the federal government, starting with Title IV of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, has taken steps to make funds for measurement and guidance programs available to schools throughout the nation. More recently, this kind of action has been increased, and it seems likely to be maintained in the foreseeable future (American Educational Research Association, 1966).

At the same time, the extremely rapid development of the electronic computer age is tending to render obsolete the hand-scoring of numerous tests and the manual maintenance of cumulative records. This development is freeing thousands of hours of counselor and teacher time for professional activity centered on the guidance of individual growth. This development still has a long way to go, but, made practicable by the preceding development, it may eventually become a feature of the guidance programs of schools even in the most financially limited areas of the country.

It is believed that these two forces are doing more than anything else to make professional guidance possible in the schools of the United States.

14. *Guidance theories and techniques must be constantly evaluated by means of substantial research, and both theory and practice should be redirected as indicated by the findings.* This aspect of the guidance point of view, regardless of specific theoretical predilection, is so obvious that it needs very little elaboration. During most of the half-century history of guidance as an active sociological and educational force, research, except as utilized in the measurement aspect of guidance, has played a minor part. Counselors have not been, either by predisposition or training, long on research. It is only during the last ten or fifteen years that a considerable body of substantial research pertinent to guidance—as indicated, for example, in the periodic *Review of Educational Research* (1966)—has begun to accumulate. The trend in guidance, just as in the whole field of education, is toward founding developments on a dependable objective basis of knowledge and understanding.

In summary, the principal elements of this point of view concerning guidance are: individual freedom of choice limited by background; respect for and protection of individual integrity; maximum individual development consistent with group welfare; active participation of counselor in discussion leading to counselee's decisions; approach to counseling as a learning experience; the concept of counseling as both science and art; objective data as a

requisite of guidance; the indispensability of cumulative records; guidance as a united effort under counseling leadership; the continuity of guidance services from prenatal stage to maturity; the utilization of values of all social classes; group work as an effective supplement to individual guidance; the practical importance of federal financial support and development of computer technology, and continued redirection of theory and practice of guidance on the basis of the growing accumulation of research findings.

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LEONA E. TYLER

*Dean of the Graduate School and
Professor of Psychology, University of Oregon*

Autobiography

I am at present the dean of the graduate school and professor of psychology at the University of Oregon. Since accepting this administrative assignment in 1965, I have not been directly involved in counseling or in counselor education, but my interest in the whole undertaking persists unchanged. To be able to consider it from an external point of reference has its advantages as well as disadvantages when one attempts to assess its meaning and significance.

My pre-university education was obtained in the Iron Range country of northern Minnesota. After three years in Hibbing, I moved to Virginia, Minnesota, where I completed high school in 1921 and junior college in 1923. Two years of subsequent work at the University of Minnesota earned me the degree of Bachelor of Science in 1925, and a certificate authorizing me to teach in Minnesota high schools. My undergraduate major was English.

After some years in public school teaching, I entered a graduate degree program in psychology at the University of Minnesota. In 1939 I obtained the M.S. degree in psychometrics, and in 1941 the Ph.D. degree in psychology. (Work for the degree was actually completed in 1940.)

The fact that I began my career as a public school teacher, and spent 13 years in this capacity before entering upon full-time graduate work, has colored my thinking about psychology and about education in general. Most of my experience was in junior high schools, including several years in Mountain Iron, Minnesota, a small town on the Mesaba Range where I had grown up, a year in the little town of Delavan, Minnesota, in the heart of the farming country, and three years in Muskegon Heights, Michigan, an industrial center on the shore of Lake Michigan. During these years I came into contact with an extremely varied sample of the American population, rich and poor, bright and dull, black and white, and children of recent immigrants from almost every country in Europe.

to my collaborating authors — Florence L. Goodenough in the case of *Developmental Psychology* and Norman D. Sundberg in the case of *Clinical Psychology*. I could not have written either of these books alone.

Several persons have influenced me strongly. My faculty adviser at the University of Minnesota, Donald G. Paterson, set the pattern for much of my later work — the focus on individual differences, the concern for the application of psychological knowledge to human affairs, and the specialization in counseling. At the University of Oregon it has been the ideas of my friend and colleague Robert W. Leeper that have influenced me most, steering me away from narrow behavioristic formulations toward a preference for cognitive — that is, perceptual and conceptual — theoretical variables. The continuously stimulating partnership with Norman D. Sundberg in research and writing projects has also played a large part in my development.

Perhaps the most significant influence is one that is hard to pinpoint or document — the general atmosphere of the University of Oregon. Partly this is a result of the great natural beauty of the Oregon country, to which I have always been attuned. It is important to me to be able to get away and think — to walk in the forest or on the seashore and allow my ideas to arrange themselves into some sort of coherent pattern. The period during which I have been on the Oregon faculty has been an intensely active period for the university itself, a time of rapid growth in both the quantitative and qualitative sense. It has been possible for people with ideas to work together to design institutional embodiments of these ideas, such as the Honors College and the School of Community Service and Public Affairs, and to see these new institutions come to life and flourish.

To paraphrase a well-known television line: This is my life.

Thoughts About Theory

In her paper, Leona Tyler describes the several influences which have shaped her thinking about the nature of man and about counseling. To Tyler, theory is not a set of "tightly organized postulates" but rather "an organized set of concepts by means of which one attempts to fit experience into a meaningful pattern."

She describes her position on counseling as a non-therapy position, and her concepts relate mainly to developmental matters rather than to pathological problems. In her conception, the making of choices is a major aspect of development.

Tyler emphasizes the uniqueness of the individual and draws several implications for counseling from these concepts. She views the major functions of counseling as helping one clarify alternatives, make good decisions, and overcome obstacles.

IF BY THEORY one means a tightly organized set of postulates from which rigorous inferences can be drawn, I certainly do not have one. Furthermore, I do not even want one. The aspects of human life in which I have taken the

greatest delight are the spontaneous, the unexpected, the unpredictable. If overwhelming evidence for a comprehensive theoretical system compelled me to accept it, I should do so, albeit with reluctance. But in our vast intellectual universe, where many towering edifices of theory, many intricate philosophical patterns have been wrought from the stuff of reality, always leaving some of it unused when the work is complete, I have chosen to value openness above rigor, richness and suggestiveness above completeness.

If by theory, however, one means simply the organized set of concepts by means of which one attempts to fit experience into a meaningful pattern, then I may call myself a theorist. The search for meaning—in books, in music, in the experiences of my own and other people's lives—has been continuous since childhood. Again and again organizing ideas have been adopted, tested, discarded, combined with other ideas. Out of this process a way of thinking about human nature and the function of counseling has emerged.

SOURCES OF IDEAS

The ideas that guide my thinking about counseling have come mainly from three special sources, in addition to miscellaneous cultural, social, and personal origins too numerous and obscure to be identified. The first of these sources is counseling itself. Week after week, for more than 25 years, I spent part of my time listening to what individuals tried to tell me, as sincerely and honestly as they were able, about their experiences, their aspirations, and their relationships to other persons, groups, and social institutions. Many ideas that have come to occupy an important place in my thinking occurred to me as I thought about what my clients had been saying. I tested their usefulness as later clients told their personal stories.

My orientation differs from that of some of the other spokesmen for the counseling profession in being essentially a nontherapy position. It is not that I lack sympathy or concern for psychological suffering, and I am very willing to employ counseling skills to relieve it. But the concepts that constitute my system of thinking have more to do with what a person *wants*, where he is going, how he *handles* the circumstances that confront him, than with his anxieties and his defenses. In short, they are concepts about *development*, not about pathology. What we refer to as "vocational" counseling has always interested me more than what we refer to as "personal" counseling, although I do not like sorting clients out on this basis. I am essentially an educator, not a healer.

The second major source of ideas has been my specialization as a psychologist in the area of individual differences. The fact of individual uniqueness has always fascinated me. The ways psychologists have attempted to bring some order into this domain are the portions of psychological science I know most about—traits, continua, dimensions, and their relationships—relationships to one another, as in factor analytic studies, to previous circumstances, as in developmental studies, and to criteria of success in life's undertakings, as in predictive studies. My attempts to put together all of the rapidly accumulating knowledge in this field have served as a constant challenge to develop more accurate and comprehensive organizing concepts.

The third major source of theoretical ideas has been my research field. Thirty years ago, when I started my research efforts, it was easier than it now is to state just what this field is. I began with some attempts to specify a little more clearly what interest tests measure and how interests develop. I am less certain about answers to these questions now than I was then, but I have become more aware of the importance in human development of *organized choices*. The complex and extremely diverse cognitive structures lying back of an individual's choices are what I have in recent years been attempting to identify.

Thoughts generated in the course of these three activities — counseling, teaching and writing about individual differences, doing research on the development of interests and organized choices — are inextricably intertwined in the conceptual system I now employ.

BASIC IDEAS

The fundamental idea upon which all the others rest is that the development of an individual involves the selection of *possibilities* to be actualized. The psychological universe consists of possibilities, rather than of facts or things. The human organism is multipotential; his environmental situation is multipotential; what is is only one of many states of affairs that might have been.

A crucial factor in human life is the flow of *time*. Human beings are finite, and time's arrow points inexorably in one direction. Thus it is written into the nature of things that only some possibilities can become actualities. All of the others must be sacrificed. Concurrently or sequentially, a person cannot follow all of the paths that at various stages of his life are open to him. He must select some, turn his back on others. In many instances this selection occurs without any conscious decisions on the part of the individual. Family circumstances, social arrangements, the things his culture takes for granted, often determine for him which paths he will follow. But as society has become more complex, affluent, mobile, and democratic, each individual increasingly has an opportunity to make informed choices about the direction his development will take. This is why counseling is becoming increasingly important in the modern world.

This conception of development as selection and, to an increasing extent, *choice* from among alternative ways to use one's limited span of time can be brought into line with various philosophical positions with regard to determinism in human affairs. However, it seems to me most compatible with the concept of *partial indeterminism* (or should one say *limited determinism*?) as presented by C. S. Peirce and William James. What we call our universe can be conceived as a multiverse in which systems are partially independent of one another, and what we call chance reflects some genuine uncertainty about the ways in which the systems will combine and interact. Thus, while the alternatives a person faces are limited by circumstances, his choice is only partly determined by them. He has some freedom of movement.

In a parallel way, it can be assumed that psychic determinism is only partial,

not complete. Personality and motivation, like the individual's external circumstances, are plural, not singular. His heredity, his early childhood experiences, and a multitude of other factors over which he has no control limit what he wants or desires as well as what he perceives and attends to. But they need not rigidly limit him to a single course of action. He can choose which motive, which value, which interpretation he will act upon.

In analyzing how major life choices are made, separate areas or domains can be separated out — work, marriage, religion, politics, and many others. Some of the strategies an individual employs in making choices may be common to all of these domains. Others probably vary from one to the other. But we can analyze in an abstract way the structural features any one of these "life spaces" presents. It is helpful to picture each of these realms in which important life choices are made as a series of concentric circles, each with its own systems of cognitive structuring. The outermost circle constitutes the boundary of everything the person knows or is aware of. Considering the realm of career choice, for example, it is clear that for any one individual there is a limit to the number of occupations about which he has any impression at all; a large number of the kinds of work human beings do somewhere in the world fall outside it. Within this area of the known, another circle of smaller diameter delimits the set of alternatives one views as possible for himself. Using occupational choice once more as our example, what fall within the boundaries of this narrower circle are the items to which the person would register a "Like" response on an interest test. Inside this second circle is a third very small one, which contains the one alternative or the very small number of alternatives on which the person has decided to act. Going back to the career choice example, what the small circle might have within it for a college sophomore is "law or politics," "industrial research or high school science teaching," or "medicine."

Only a beginning has been made in the task of clarifying through research the nature of cognitive structures involved in major life choices. Many kinds of research need to be done. We should study developmental stages or trends. There is some evidence, for example, suggesting that with increasing age and experience the child *enlarges* the outer circle of the known but *contracts* the intermediate circle of the possible. We need to know what impact external forces or stimuli have upon each part of the system. A class in occupations, for example, might be expected to enlarge the circle of the known. Does it also enlarge the circle of the possible? What about personal influences, identification? What about experiences of success and failure? We must study the cognitive structuring or system of categories an individual uses in making decisions, conscious or unconscious, rational or irrational, about which items among the known to consider as personal possibilities, and which items among the possible to choose as a basis for action.

IMPLICATIONS FOR GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

The guidance specialist and the counselor can be thought of as experts on the process that enables an individual to exert limited control over his own

development through the choices he makes. It would perhaps be advisable to make a clearer distinction between *guidance* and *counseling* than has been common in recent years. Guidance is the broader concept, and can be applied to the whole developmental process through which a large number of possibilities is transformed into a small number of actualities. Most of the school activities usually included under the guidance label would seem to belong there. It is important that someone take responsibility for special courses, extracurricular activities, lectures and films, clubs and hobby groups, and the many other means that have been devised to enable pupils to explore personal ways of relating themselves to the world in which present and future choices must be made. I would also like to see guidance activity increased in a variety of nonschool settings, such as summer camps, employment offices, churches, and neighborhood houses. It can no longer be assumed that education, and the special kind of education we are calling guidance, is the concern of the young alone. A person may require it at 40 or at 50, or at 65.

I would prefer to reserve the term *counseling* for face-to-face encounters in which, stimulated and reassured by a special kind of human relationship, an individual explores his own life space and makes decisions about the developments he wishes to bring about in it over time. I do not consider most of the distinctions commonly made between varieties of counseling to be very important. It does not matter whether the face-to-face encounter occurs in an individual interview or in a group, so long as the group is small enough to permit the basic qualities of a good counseling relationship—acceptance, empathic understanding, sincere interest—to be maintained for all group members. The distinction between “vocational” and “personal” counseling is to me relatively meaningless. Self-exploration and choice characterize both. One aspect of the search for one’s own identity cannot be considered “deeper” or more significant than another. The sensitive counselor tunes in to the unique message an individual is struggling to communicate, whatever specific questions he brings up at the outset.

Disregarding these unhelpful ways of differentiating between varieties of counseling, we can instead use the ideas presented in the preceding section to distinguish several broad functions a counselor performs. First of all, he may help a client to *explore*, to become aware of the structure and contents of his own possibility system in one or more life domains, and to make readjustments within it. Through the communication of thoughts and feelings about a variety of specific things, people, and situations, as well as through what can be discovered by analyzing performance on tests of ability, interests, and motivation, a client becomes aware of the concepts, values, habits, and motives that he has been using or can use to structure his own possibility world. Through experiences planned during interview hours he may direct his attention to possibilities in himself and his situation that were not visible to him before counseling began.

The second main function of counseling is to help one’s client to *clarify the alternatives* within the narrower circle that contains what he already sees as possibilities, to attach some sort of values or utilities to these, to consider

possible and probable outcomes, and thus to achieve a wholehearted decision and the genuine commitment that goes with it. The need for this particular kind of service becomes ever more urgent in our society as possible courses of action for each individual become more numerous and the value systems men live by become more fluid and interpenetrating. Counseling must help the adolescent find a satisfying identity, and help the middle-aged person to redirect his life if such redirection is required. By one means or another, people do make decisions that set the pattern of their lives. One major purpose of counseling is to see that these are good decisions.

A third major function of counseling is to help a client overcome some obstacle that stands in the way of his development in a direction he has chosen. It is here that the skillful application of principles and techniques from the psychology of learning are most pertinent. Counselors should know that several decades of laboratory research on the learning process have taught us about how habits are formed, how desirable behavior tendencies are strengthened, and how undesirable behavior is eliminated. Some behavior changes can be produced through interviews or small group interactions alone, by reinforcing some sorts of verbal behavior and ignoring others. Other kinds of habit-building require that the person participate in specially designed programs outside the counseling situation itself. Plans and arrangements for such participation can be worked out as a part of counseling.

It is important to view counseling always as a partnership between counselor and client, especially when the third of the major functions discussed above, behavior change, is the objective. A counselor never looks upon a client as an object to be manipulated. Together they decide what kind of development the person wants for himself. Together they work out the means to accomplish it.

TIES WITH PHILOSOPHY

It would be futile to attempt to unravel all the threads of influence woven into the pattern of concepts and values discussed here, but it is apparent that they are closer to some philosophical systems than to others. I am aware of a strong existentialist component, but I feel much more affinity for some existentialist writers than for others. I have borrowed more from Jaspers than from Heidegger, more than Frankl than from Sartre, more from Buber than from Kierkegaard. It is the emphasis on freedom of choice as a determiner of one's destiny, and on courage as a fundamental virtue, that have crystallized for me out of the cloudy existentialist solution. Concepts like dread, nausea, despair, and "nothingness" have not been so readily assimilable. It is perhaps a little unfortunate that it was the psychotherapists who introduced existentialism into psychology. It is not as a cure for neurosis but rather as a way of thinking about the general human condition that existentialism has appealed to me.

It was only fairly recently that I discovered that my philosophical orientation was very close to that of William James. Because I have been at least somewhat familiar with his psychological works since the beginning of my

professional life, it seems likely that out of his famous passages on the selectivity of consciousness and the necessity of limiting oneself through choice, ideas had lodged in some crevice of my mind years ago, so that they were available when I needed them, even though I did not immediately recognize where they came from. At any rate, I find the whole orientation in the philosophical books that James wrote subsequent to *Principles of Psychology* congenial—the espousal of freedom as opposed to strict determinism, the pluralism, the pragmatism, the humanism. Even the fact that James's ideas were never organized into one coherent, logic-tight system increases the utility of these ideas for a nonsystem like mine.

Finally, I recognize the influence of religious concepts, some of them acquired in very early childhood. Brought up in a deeply religious home, I thought seriously at an early age about man and God and their relationship. As time passed, my belief in many of the specific statements embodied in Christian creeds weakened, but a general religious orientation persisted, a deep and abiding loyalty to what all of man's high religions have in common rather than to the particular dogmas of any one of them. To me the world is still in the process of creation, inexhaustibly beautiful but marred by many and serious imperfections. Each human individual participates in the creative endeavor. It is his duty and his privilege to make his unique contribution to the overall design.

Because the concept of multipotentiality is so central to my thinking, I feel no urge to take a position on the issue of whether man is essentially good or evil. One can say that he is both, and that he can choose which side of his nature to present to his fellows, but this is really an oversimplification. Our ethical thinking must move beyond the concept of "good" and "evil" to consider human choices in a many-dimensional rather than a two-dimensional framework. The really hard choices for men and women of today are those in which several courses of action, all of which appear to be "good," and all of which have some potentially "evil" consequences, must be evaluated. Evil exists, but when we have overcome it we must still grapple with the problem of what "good" to pursue. The basic challenge to humanity is the challenge of multiple possibilities.

SUMMARY

Out of thinking I have done about counseling experiences, the psychology of individual differences, and research on interests and choices, I have arrived at a theoretical viewpoint from which attention is focused on developmental possibilities and the processes through which the human individual transforms a small fraction of these into actualities. Just which possibilities are to be brought to fruition in a person's development over time is determined partly by factors over which he has no control—circumstances limiting his opportunities, and motivational patterns built into his organism by heredity and early learning. But within these limits, he has some freedom to choose. The purpose of guidance and counseling is to enable each individual to make wise choices in all the major areas of life, such as work, marriage, free time

activities, beliefs, and values, and to overcome obstacles that stand in his way along the developmental paths chosen.

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E. G. WILLIAMSON

Dean of Students, University of Minnesota**Autobiography*

My present status is dean of students and professor of psychology at the University of Minnesota. I am the chief administrator for student personnel services organized on a University-wide basis, with a staff of about 200 persons. Included within the office of the dean of students are the following bureaus: Coordinator of Student Religious Activities; Director of Women's Counseling and Continuing Education; Student Counseling Bureau; Foreign Student Advisor's Office; Speech and Hearing Clinic; Student Activities Bureau; Student Housing Bureau; Student Life Studies; Disciplinary Counseling Office; Dad's Association, and the very complicated and extensive statewide testing program in elementary and high schools of the state.

I teach one seminar in student personnel work, lecture (too much) on trips to other colleges, write articles and books and enjoy living.

I received my B.A. from the University of Illinois in 1925 and my Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota in 1931, having majored in psychology for both degrees with minors in philosophy, sociology, and educational psychology.

I was a teaching assistant in the Department of Psychology from 1926 to 1931; assistant professor and director of the first Testing and Counseling Bureau in the University from 1931 to 1938; I was coordinator of Student Personnel Services from 1938 to 1941, and dean of students and professor from 1941 to date.

A project in Germany in 1946 studying the Nazi program of manpower utilization brought me face-to-face with the destruction of that culture. In 1956 I similarly observed the destruction in Japan, which had by that time been largely rebuilt. These two trips confirmed my value commitment to the human enterprise as the good life.

I am a humanist — I suppose that category is relevant — committed to counseling within education as one means of assisting youth to "grow up" into full

* Retired as of June, 1969. Retained as consultant after that time.

humanness. I believe I acquired this philosophic perspective and value commitment from my mother (an elementary school teacher), from a YMCA secretary, and from my wife, a musician and fellow humanist.

My favorite concept of education is contained in Gideonse's recent quotation from a Soviet rector, who characterized some of his faculty as viewing students "as bottles to be filled and not as lamps to be lit." I strive to be a lamplighter.

How did I happen to enter the field? Well, it was entirely by accident. I had an undergraduate major at the University of Illinois in Titchnerian psychology, the study of sensation and perception, which is about as far removed from student personnel work and counseling as is nuclear physics. But my own personal life is and was that of one interested in persons. The summer that I graduated from Illinois, I received an offer of a job in the Wesley Foundation at the university at a salary which seemed fabulous in those days. Two thousand pre-Roosevelt dollars looked mighty big to me, since I had been largely self-supporting all of my life, having started work at the age of 13 and having earned and borrowed my way through high school and college. When I came to Minnesota I suddenly discovered D. G. Paterson who was interested in applying to counseling and student personnel work what he had learned in Army classification work in World War I and in industrial psychology with the Scott company. This new field of knowledge struck a response and so I applied for an assistantship. Paterson's notion of applying to the college field what he learned of manpower management struck me as being very relevant to my interest in persons, and I have spent the rest of my life since 1926, when I enrolled as a graduate student under Peterson, trying to carry out this mission. I have stated my indebtedness to Peterson on many occasions and I have somewhere in my unpublished papers a somewhat detailed reconstruction of my attempts to develop the program following upon Paterson's lead. In my book *Vocational Counseling* I traced some of this historical development, both with regard to Paterson in Minnesota and to other psychologists in other institutions. And so, as I say, I stumbled into the field accidentally, not knowing that there was such a field and certainly without benefit of counseling, since there was none available in that day at the University of Illinois.

With regard to contributions to the field, let me say that I publish repeatedly my attempts to adapt counseling technique and emphasis and methods to the disagreeable handling of disciplinary cases of misconduct. And in spite of those who say this is not counseling, I still say that the only transformation that will make something educative out of discipline, rather than repression and regimentation of behavior, is counseling. It doesn't bother me that some persons believe that "no counselor should have anything to do with discipline." This is not my position, since I have been doing disciplinary counseling for 28 years. But for some individuals tribal dogma seems to be more important than empirical facts.

The first staff member I employed when I became dean in 1941 was a psychologist to counsel students alleged to have been in violation of rules and regulations of the university.

With regard to some particular experiences in my professional career, I have stated in the preface to *Vocational Counseling* my vivid recollection of my first counseling case, and it is still vivid after 40-some years. In my first counseling

case, with a lovely blue-eyed, yellow-haired Scandinavian girl, I "opened" with the query, "And what is your problem?" When she answered, "I have none," the interview was concluded! Otherwise my memories are chock-full of frustrating but delicious torments, together with the great exhilaration of research and publication and speeches and debates and professional friendships.

My associates have also tried to make something educative in the higher learning out of the extracurriculum, which is largely dominated and saturated with the concept of fun. Since ours is a "fun culture," it would be natural for the students to think of entertainment as being the totality of what takes place outside of the classroom. In the final chapter of my book on student personnel work, I have sought to make something intellectually stimulating out of the extracurriculum through our noncredit "free university" retreats, which we have been carrying on for twenty-some years, long before San Francisco State started its free university. I remember with great satisfaction these efforts to saturate the extracurriculum with intellectual content, with learning as another kind of fun.

Now I am engaged in trying to understand and control through "manipulation" — which is a nasty word, of course — the present student unrest and revolt as an uprising against repressive nonstudent personnel deans and general administrators. I have written about this effort too, and have tried to understand the legalities of procedural due process as well as the philosophic and programmatic implications of today's unrest.

As for my special interest, I have always said that my job is my interest and I have thoroughly enjoyed my 42 years — 42½ I guess it is — of work with students, trying to be of assistance to them in growing up with some moral commitment to some aspect of the "good life." I do not believe the tribal dogma that the individual contains within himself all of the resources and potentialities necessary to make him humane and so I have turned to the ancient Greek concept of *arete*, which involves searching for external criteria of the good life. I have contrasted with the psychotherapist's concept of internal motivations, by saying that President Harry Gideonse has advocated similar external criteria for the good life, as contrasted with the inner standards and norms which have sometimes led to excessive permissiveness in child-rearing in this country with no "limits" on the individual's autonomy — or so some adolescents seem to conclude. In their immature concept of freedom in a democracy as freedom to do as one pleases without external restraints and socialized values upon self-actualization.

In this context I am reminded of Richard Evan's *obiter dictum* that "no man has the right to do as he pleases unless he please to do what is right!" That dictum always produces the irritated query: Who determines what is right? And at that point the seminar becomes productive of thought in depth, in contrast with the superficiality of the concept of freedom as the absence of external restraints or as permissiveness of the individual to actualize himself as he pleases! (Without regard for external criteria of the good life?)

In summary, I have concluded that the doctrine of "hands off, let the bud unfold," is not a productive model for those forms of counseling and student personnel work that function within the societal "character"-forming agencies which we call schools and colleges. Rather do I subscribe to Grace Coyle's *obiter dictum* that "every adolescent (child too!) must come to terms with authority"

and thus reach his full potentiality of humanness, as judged both by internal (self) criteria and external (others, group membership, our society, et al.) criteria of the good life of *arete*. In fact, to me the good life is the striving of the individual to achieve excellence in all dimensions of his living.

A Concept of Counseling

"Vocational counseling" means different things to different people. Describing his particular approach, E. G. Williamson states he does not view vocational guidance or counseling as simply restricted to job-finding. Counseling is one way of helping the individual to make wise choices for himself. Indeed, effective vocational counseling is most important in order to aid man in reaching his fullest potential in his life's work. Counseling may not have to be voluntary in order to be meaningful, but it necessarily must deal with both the rational and affective elements of the individual.

I BEGAN COUNSELING with special interest in the experimental and clinical testing of the then-prevalent assumption that counseling was necessary to help the student become informed about and choose from among the bewildering variety of occupations open to him, concerning some of which he may not have been informed through living in his school and community, especially in rural and deprived communities. I have never, however, looked upon vocational counseling, then called vocational guidance, as limited strictly to job-finding, but rather looked upon a man's occupation as one of the means of helping him develop and enjoy his own fullest potentialities. This concept has come to be called self-actualization, but it is not a new one to me. Nor have I ever looked upon counseling, contrary to some misinterpretations and misperceptions, as a means of "directing" or assigning students into occupational choices or jobs. Rather have I looked upon counseling as one of many means open to help the individual, particularly during the adolescent period, become aware of alternative choices as to style of living, both within and outside a vocation, and to evaluate alternatives in terms of consequences, rewards, and opportunities before making his choice. Since I have specialized in the adolescent's choice-situation, I have not been concerned personally, although interested professionally, in the repeated choice-making that characterizes the post-adolescent years of change necessitated by variations in the individual's understanding of his own potentiality and interest and aspirations and value commitments, as well as the many changes brought about by economic depressions, wars, societal dislocations, and obsolescence of vocational and individual skills.

I have never lost my interest in validating the assumptions and claims of counselors about their effectiveness. As far as I am concerned it is still an

open question, because only incomplete data are available for decision-making as to the effectiveness of the dyadic relationship or of group counseling.

I have continued to have grave doubts as to the validity of the tribal dogma that only when participation is entirely voluntary on the part of the student can there be effective counseling. And, as I have said repeatedly in my writings, one of my experimental interests in the counseling situation was to see whether or not some counseling good could come out of "forced" counseling of "reluctant clients."

Moreover, I have been increasingly concerned over the decades with one neglected aspect of the assumption of voluntariness, and that is the many, many individuals who do not for one reason or another volunteer for counseling but who need it, as is indicated by subsequent observations and studies of one sort or another. So I continue to be skeptical of this tribal dogma of voluntariness as being fully exploitive of the true conditions necessary for counseling. In other words, I think that counseling good can come out of relationships which, at least initially, are not voluntarily chosen by the student. And therefore it has not been of major concern to me that it is standard practice, at least in high schools, to require counseling relationships of students without waiting for them to volunteer. For too long, it seems to me, we have borrowed the assumptions from certain other fields that we should put out a shingle, sit behind a desk, and wait for the customer to come to us, and that we have no societal or professional responsibilities for those who do not choose to come.

To turn to another point, without in any way neglecting the affective richness of the full life of the human being, and particularly of the growing adolescent, still I feel that man's capacity to strive to become rational is among his greatest — if not the greatest — assets and capabilities. This is the reason why counseling to me, in the one-to-one relationship at least, takes the form of helping the individual student to make a rational evaluation of optional choices with full awareness of alternatives. And as I say, this holds not only for finding a vocation, or even immediate employment, but as well for the many other dimensions of the full life of one's potentiality. That is, feeling better as a result of counseling, through the acceptance of one's self as one is, in actuality, is only one of the criteria by which I prefer to judge the effectiveness of counseling. I want to see behavior modification as well and I look upon Krumboltz's viewpoint, with its insistence upon observable and measurable behavior, as a hardheaded alternative to what I sometimes call the softheaded affect criterion of feeling better within one's self. These criteria — feeling better, thinking better and clearer, and acting upon one's rational processes — are not in opposition to each other, but together they make up a much fuller realization of one's potentiality, or so it seems to me. And I do not think that one needs to abandon the 18th-century rational philosophical approach to human development in order to enjoy, employ, and understand the great contribution of Freud to rounding out our understanding that man is not only a rational but also an irrational individual. Unfortunately, sometimes these two dimensions of one's life (rationality and

irrationality) are in conflict, and thus there is special need for therapeutic counseling in order to unify the whole individual.

But still, again, even in therapy, I see rationality as the technique of thinking more clearly about one's self in the process of accepting one's self, and feeling better about one's self as one actually is, rather than as one misperceives one's self through the distortions of irrationality. So even therapy to me has rational elements, as well as affective ecological conditions, that are conducive to achieving one's full potentiality and, moreover, aspiring to become that potentiality. In the case of the culturally deprived, we must help to create the aspiration to become one's potentiality at the same time we are trying to help the individual perceive his potentiality and accept it.

The anticipation of change as perceived, and even indeed welcomed, by our clientele is the handicap that we have created for ourselves by organizing and creating expectation that counseling is available to deal with problem crisis. It is as though we sold ourselves as a "fix-it-up" type of profession. And once an individual has fixed himself up or been fixed up, then counseling is over until the next crisis occurs. So much of the literature of counseling is built around this concept that one must rail against it. In actual fact, to be sure, life proceeds from crisis to crisis or problem to problem and from anxiety to anxiety. But there are underlying developmental stages which call for recounseling within self-management counseling, that is, a learning process applied to self which goes on continuously. It is as though there were a curve of upward development which is the life span and life development of a human being, with little jagged peaks and valleys which indicate deviations from the dominant upward curve. We should center our attention and effort, and that of the students, upon the long-range developmental upward curve, and not exclusively upon temporary but often painful and immediate peaks and valleys of a minor sort.

This is a summarization of my own conceptions of the role of counseling in human development, and it should be clear why I reject letting the bud unfold itself, without regard to its ecology or environmental influence, and why I find it difficult to believe that the bud has within itself all of the resources necessary to becoming a full human being, characterized by humanness. We are an interdependent society, or, to put it another way, we are interdependent individuals, even though our relationships with others often become quite impersonal or depersonalized.

Let me add one more point. Even though I speak largely in terms of human development as the task of the counselor, I have never abandoned my original interest in and reason for entering counseling and student personnel work — what we first called educational and vocational guidance. Indeed, my next-to-last book traced some facets of the exciting history of "vocational counseling," with my special interest in the incorporation of measurement ("testing") of aptitudes and interests and personality. While I perceive that the incorporation of certain concepts and techniques of therapy into counseling has enabled us more closely to approximate the "whole child" phenomenon, yet I confess

much sympathy, in our industrialized work-committed economy, with Hoppock's dictum: "Evaluation in psychoanalytic terms and in therapeutic terms without evaluation against the ultimate criteria of self-support and job satisfaction does not impress me" (Solem, 1968).

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Autobiography

When and where I was born (1902 in New Paris, Ohio) seems of little significance to me now. What does seem significant is that after 40 years of university connections (at Stanford, Minnesota, Arizona State, and 16 others for summer school appointments) I have just begun a five-year appointment at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota. I have been on the board of trustees of that college since 1961, but this new assignment means moving into a special concern for research and innovation in the total process of undergraduate campus learning. Here I hope to be a thoughtful resource man for the excellent faculty of that progressive institution, which is currently responsible for faculty and student learning experimentation grants totalling several million dollars. Mrs. Wrenn and I will continue to maintain our permanent residence in Tempe, Arizona. I have a nominal appointment as visiting professor at Arizona State University which will keep the library and other resources of the university open to me.

Graduate education has been my main business in life, even during the early days at Stanford, where I taught graduate classes as well as serving as a student personnel officer after securing my Ph.D. there in 1932.¹ The list of completed or near-completed Ph.D. candidates for whom I have been adviser or co-adviser now numbers 80. I am fortunate to have had close contact with so many truly fine young men and women; from them I have learned and am learning a great deal. Two-thirds of them are now university administrators, professors, and counselors, with others serving as psychologists in hospitals, business and industry, government, and private practice.

¹ Other details of my background, which would be of interest perhaps to very few readers, can be found in directories such as *Who's Who in America*, *International Who's Who*, *American Men of Science*, and *Who's Who in American Education*. For example, prior to our Stanford experience my wife and I started out life as high school counselors. Counselors were rare specimens in those early days!

A list of these students is given here because some of them have been "out" long enough or have written enough to be known to the average reader: Ensio E. Aalto, Kermit O. Almos, Lois D. Anderson, Joseph C. Bentley, Donald H. Blocher, Paul A. Bloland, Arthur D. Bradley, Carl F. Buer, Thomas C. Burgess, Edith Stedman Buschmann, John M. Butler, Raymond Carlson, William D. Carlson, Harley Christiansen, William R. Crooks, Theodore R. Cross, Michael M. DeMann, Joseph H. Dickerson, Jo Freida Dorris (1969), Willis E. Dugan, Lyle O. Estenson, Catherine Evans, William W. Farquhar, Thomas N. Filson, John E. Free, Charles J. Goltzbach, Claude H. Grant, Beulah Hedahl, Paul Heist, W. J. Humber, Carl F. Jesness, Walter F. Johnson, Elvet G. Jones, Robert B. Kamm, John Kendall, George A. Koester, Marguerite Cuddy Krebs, Helen B. Krumboltz, John D. Krumboltz, Robert E. Lee, Walter B. Leino, Charles L. Lewis, Robert E. Lindberg (1969), Eleanore Braun Luckey, James B. Lyon, Clarence A. Mahler, Frederick C. Markwardt, Romine E. Matthews, George J. Mouly, Daniel C. Neale, Helen Young Nelson, Kenneth G. Nelson, Myrne B. Nevison, Clyde A. Parker, C. H. Patterson, Presentacion Perez, Truman Pouncey, Philip B. Ray, Peter P. Remple, Guy A. Renzaglia, Jack E. Rossman, H. Bradley Sagen, Joseph P. Schnitzen, Edward H. Selden, Jack Shaw, Mary Anderson Simpson, Anita P. Smith, Ruth Stout, Merton P. Strommen, Robert J. Swan, Mary Glen Taylor (1969 or 1970), Jorgen S. Thompson, Arthur L. Tollefson, Garry R. Walz, Ruth E. Westlund, D. N. Wiener, James K. Winfrey, Robert E. Wilk, Kaoru Yamamoto, Donald R. Zander. Other students who began their Ph.D. work with me but whom I reluctantly relinquished to colleagues when I left the institution: Jack L. Armstrong, Herbert M. Burks, Keith T. Checketts, A. Garr Cranney, Dean C. Dauw, James C. Dickinson, William H. Dooley, Robert L. Falk, Dorothy Loeffler, Vasant V. Merchant, Ralph E. Packard, Harold J. Palm, Dale (Tony) Roffers, Alex F. Schilt, Abdalla M. Soliman, Doloris Jackus Willmore.

Many of these former students have become close personal friends and colleagues. One advisee, Harold B. Pepinsky (who started with me but who finished with another adviser when I went into the Navy), in turn became the Ph.D. adviser of our son at Ohio State! That son, Robert L. Wrenn, is now counseling psychologist and associate professor of psychology at the University of Arizona. He published his first book six years ahead of me (in age) and it has been much more of a success than was my first!

Two other areas of activity have been professional organizations and writing. Activity in the American Personnel and Guidance Association (and its predecessors) from 1937 to 1963 has involved 21 officerships and chairmanships, including the presidencies of the NVGA and ACPA. In the American Psychological Association from 1948 to 1968 I have served on 12 boards, executive councils, and committees, including one division presidency. Some board and committee appointments were of three and six years' duration. This may seem like an inordinate amount of time devoted to professional developments and organization work. In my defense, I must say that since 1960 I have refused nomination to any office.

Writing is a necessary part of any professor's life—I have done my share of it. My first articles, written in 1928, were "Factors Determining a Child's Moral Standards," in *Education*, and "Initiating a Guidance Program in a Small School," in the *Vocational Guidance Magazine*. One of these was empirical and one in-

voiced organizational planning. I have maintained these two emphases over the years, adding in later years attention to philosophy and theory and to integrative writing.

My bibliography of the past forty years (to June, 1969) consists of 345 items. Some of these are "notes" (introductions to books, editorials, reviews, comments), others are more substantial. A few books and articles have been translated into eight languages. Some of my published materials now seem trivial and I would be pleased to see them wiped from the record!

I think I contributed significantly by serving as editor of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* for the first 10 years of its life. The establishment of a new journal is quite an adventure! Twenty-six of us bought over \$5,000 worth of stock as a professional contribution toward establishing this journal. We had no thought of ever getting our money back, but we actually gained about threefold in dividends and from the sale of our journal in 1965 to the American Psychological Association. I served as editor for the first four years with no compensation, however, spending many hundreds of hours per year. So did Frank Fletcher as managing editor, Donald Super and Leona Tyler as associate editors, and others. The journal was a success.²

More recently, I have enjoyed serving as a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee in Education of the Houghton Mifflin Company, with special responsibility for books in counseling, guidance, student personnel work, and educational psychology in general. Since 1961, a total of 28 books have been published in this particular series, with 3 more in press at this time of writing.³

How have I developed as a person over these 66 years? I see myself as becoming more tolerant, more accepting of ambiguity as a basic dimension of reality. Is this just "mellowing" as one gets older? I think it is more than that—it is getting a broader perspective and accepting a greater variety of ideas and people as "real." It means also that both ideas and perceptions of people are seen as more tentative. (See page 325 for further comment on my evolution toward greater spiritual openness.)

I write this late at night on the top of a Los Altos hill overlooking the San Francisco Bay area. The lights of many Bay communities are spread before me; the homes of many thousands of people. Each lives in his own world—each sees *his* world, not mine. This is a phenomenological concept, and it follows naturally that I am an existentialist in my understanding of life's meaning. I am a theistic existentialist. God is a part of life's meaning and a part of me. My religion is certainly different from that of my youth and I hope to keep it constantly changing with the rest of me. I will never find the truth that I seek, except in part; but the seeking is the purpose of life itself. I take great joy in just *living*—particularly with my beloved wife of these many years.

(Editor's Note: Dr. Wrenn has received the following recognitions and awards: Bronze Star Medal, U.S. Navy, 1945; Nancy C. Wimmer Award from APGA, 1964; Fulbright Distinguished Scholar Award, 1965; Award for Distinguished Service, U.S. Department of Labor, 1967.)

The World About Us and Counseling

C. Gilbert Wrenn gives us a social document that to some degree summarizes all that has come before in this book. He does so most effectively by providing as a backdrop the sociological perspectives in which counselors work. It becomes even more meaningful since he does this in a personal way. Who can deny the importance of the counselor's own perceptions? Wrenn relates social conditions to current professional concerns, noting that the counselor should understand his own value pattern. The counselor needs to be able to communicate a "trust in the reality of the other while maintaining his own integrity."

A WRITING ASSIGNMENT such as this one carries with it the temptation to reminisce. So much has happened in the 1960's, for example, that anyone in the 1930's would have called unbelievable. The reader's response to such a statement is likely to be "So what? We are now in the believable present — let's get on with it. We need to look at the past only to get an occasional sighting point on the meaning of the present, a cue to the directions in which the present will become the future." All right, I'll accept that charge.

This is also a personal document, by definition, so the reader must expect a good many statements written in the first person. "What seems important to me," then, first in the humanity of the world around me, and second in my areas of professional concern.

SOCIAL CONCERNS AND CONFUSIONS

Some years ago, John Ciardi wrote in *The Saturday Review* on "The Courage of His Confusions."¹ It is easy, he wrote, to praise men for the courage of their convictions, but why not also praise them for the courage of their confusions! "Show me a man who is not confused and I will show you a man who has not been thinking. . . . I, for one, do not know how to live without more questions than I shall ever have answers for. . . . Yes, I am confused but I will prefer the larger confusion to the smaller certainty. . . . My plea to the young — let them be told at least once that the courage of one's convictions may in reality turn out to be the cowardice of one's mind, the retreat into easy and self-binding certainty."

As I have considered the enormously complex issues of this decade, the bewildering paradoxes of behavior and belief that face us daily, I have taken great comfort from this plea of Ciardi's. Convictions I may or may not trust, but confusions I can understand.

¹ "The Courage of His Confusions," *The Saturday Review*, June 2, 1962. Copyright 1962 Saturday Review, Inc.

The War

The year 1969 means first of all to me the shock of escalating violence at home and abroad. *The Vietnam War is almost unbelievable, but it is also an inescapable fact.* In addition to the irreplaceable lives lost on both sides, this war is unique in doing what no previous war in my experience has done. It is tearing us apart as a nation rather than unifying us. In World Wars I and II, there were few indeed who failed to support the common effort, and in the Depression of the 1930's we had a common feeling for each other — all were suffering. But in 1969 we are a divided nation, not only in our support of the military and political efforts of the war, but in our attitudes toward violence and law observance.

In this war, as in all wars, the lives of *our* men are the most precious, those of our allies of a lesser order of importance, while the enemy represent something to be killed. Our military and our newspapers have achieved a new low in this war with the designation of the daily "kill rate" as the only achievement to be cited. Nor do those who seek to escape war help themselves by the way in which they say, "My life is more important than that of any Vietnamese. Why should I risk my life for another?" Those in the battle do not say so, for each day some men give their lives for their comrades and for the pathetic civilians caught in the vise between military forces.

The war and the draft have become "the thing" for many young people. Counselors must listen—and try to understand. There are basic values involved here, and glib answers or dogmatic opposition will merely offend and incense adolescent clients. Their concern about a compulsory draft which pulls them into a distasteful and deeply resented risking of their lives must be taken seriously if counselors are to mean anything in the future.

Violence

Violence in America is second on my 1969 "shock" list. To ask "why" is to evoke too many answers, yet I am sure that multiple causation is the reality. 1) Violence and killing in our external war surely suggests its justification in internal matters. 2) The lack of communication between warring segments of our society — between whites and nonwhites, between young and old, between those representing authority and those subject to it — suggests that violence is necessary in order to make the other side "understand." Words haven't done it, or promises, or the willingness to listen before talking — so only violence seems to be left. 3) Fear also breeds violence, the fear of the majority, of the adult, of authority figures, their fear of what rebellion will do to the institutions of society. So the "haves" invoke more legislation, enforce rules more strictly, try "more of the same" to bring about conformity to present social institutions — resulting, of course, to a greater sense of injustice and more violence.

What are the alternative outcomes to the present violence in the "civil" rights struggle (in 1969 this is no longer a civil rights but a human rights struggle) and in the rejection of constituted or "adult" authority? 1) It

could be an apartheid society in which the split is not only between majority-white and minority-nonwhite, but also between legal authority and personal conscience, between the establishment generation and the present generation of youth. These conflicts all appear to me to be cut from the same cloth—those who *have* it, those who are in the majority, those who see themselves as older and therefore wiser, all threatened by the reckless have-nots (“What do I have to lose?”), the minority in skin color, numbers, and wealth, the 25,000,000 youth whose cry is “Relevance for *our* time, not yours.” 2) More hopefully, it could be an alternative in which law is not greater than love, in which the responsibilities of government and justice are borne in part by those affected, in which no one is committed to fight before he can vote, no one is judged except by a jury of his peers in such matters as race, education, income, and age. 3) It could mean an anarchistic society in which all police are enemies and every man is expected personally to defend himself and his family.

It now appears to be very important to distinguish between the irresponsibly violent and destructive minority on the one hand and the deeply stirred but constructively inclined minority on the other hand. There is then also the passive and unstirred majority who *could* be stirred. The destructive must not be allowed to damage the schools. They are subject to civil law as are any other citizens. But let us not condemn all youth because they are young, or we will lose them completely to violence.

Counselors cannot stay away from this issue without some artful dodging. Of course it is possible simply to avoid schools and situations in which violence might appear—but at what price self-respect? Is it better to “play it safe,” pretend, or “let George do it” than to say “Whatever is real to you must be real to me—if I am a counselor”?

The Two Generations

The inability to trust each other enough to listen and to learn that is found in the minority group struggle has a special significance with regard to *what is happening between the adult world and the generation of youth*. The widely discussed Generation Gap of this age has a new quality to it. The nonwhites have never trusted the whites to any degree, nor have the poor trusted the well-to-do, nor the uneducated the educated. But the young have always shown reasonable respect for their elders. They didn't always agree (and often they shouldn't have) and they rebelled but they had earlier *listened*. Now, little listening is going on—and much telling. The new quality is that the young do not trust the older—their goals, their values, their achievements. They are sure that in turn they, the young, won't be understood in words, so they tell in acts—retreat acts (the hippies), protest acts (the demonstrators) and both violent and constructive behaviors (the doers).

There are many helpful and service-minded doers—Peace Corps and Vista volunteers, tutors and helpers in needy schools, voter registration workers, and many others. These youth may have learned something that the others do not seem to know—that to be responsible for *significant others* leads inevitably to some responsibility for *significant others*. Each person has significance. One way to find self is to lose it for others.

There are negative doers, too — on campuses and in city streets — and these get the publicity. Here violence enters again because they believe — having often been told by their "leaders" — that only violence will get attention. And attention they demand, sometimes for themselves, sometimes for their cause.

How will the counselor be seen by youth — only as one of the "Older Generation," or as a possible liaison between the two?

Instant Happiness

While we are thinking about youth, let me worry a little about the well-publicized tendency of some youth to opt for what might be called *instant happiness* and *sense gratification*. This is related, I am sure, to the young person's distrust for what can be learned from the past, his uncertainty about the future, and his feeling that so much is happening that he cannot understand. So he says, "let me live for now — and fully." This cry has been heard before from the young, but never before under the triple-threat influence of economic plenty for many, a relaxed moral code, and the availability of hallucinogenic drugs. So "instant something" is available — enough money to keep one in what one considers the necessities, easy access to sex experience and social "freedoms" of this sort, and drugs to turn one on in a variety of ways.

The adult generation is horrified by much of this. How much of what we read is due to an hysterical overdose of attention is hard to know. There are a thousand opinions and cries of horror for every well-researched fact in the area of drugs, for example. There is evidence that alcohol and cigarettes will cause many thousands more deaths than will all drugs, but these are legal indulgences that are supported by powerful lobbies in Congress and in every state legislature. No one dares to lobby for drugs — yet.

So we have many questions about this desire of youth for instant sensation — and no answers. I do not see new legislation and further restrictions providing answers — society cannot force youth to work and save if they do not value possessions highly, nor can society restrict youth's freedom to enjoy sex and drugs if they are available and if he sees them as his personal prerogative, affecting no one but himself. At least, our society is not likely to succeed in either of these approaches. *Rather, youth must be helped to live within limits which they have had a part in determining.*

There is grave danger that the counselor will go to one extreme or the other in this area. He may find security in becoming one of the uptight older group that is wholly critical of youth. He may, on the other hand, feel that he must be like the young — demonstrate, use pot, grow a beard. Some counselors seriously believe that a beard or mod dress on a counselor will show the young that he or she is for them. I doubt the wisdom of this. Some of the young merely want us to be what we are — and allow them to do the same. They may need *both* an anchor of stability and a tolerance for their own instability.

Mass Media

Closely related to value anxieties in youth and the violence spasm in our society is the influence of what appears to be a totally irresponsible system of mass media. Violence is made commonplace, drinking and adultery spice TV

and picture screens, lawbreaking is made fascinating. This may sound moralistic to many readers, but I do not apologize. I plead for balance and a sense of moral responsibility, not abstinence and a rigid morality. I am far from being unaware of an attractive woman or the pleasantness of a social drink, and men can be rugged and uncouth as well as sensitive and gentle. I am deeply resentful, however, of the depth of brutality, inhumaneness, and licentiousness to which TV in particular has descended during the past few years.

The television and newspaper photographers' desire to give us an intimate picture of all riots, accidents, and other tragedies, the more brutally realistic the better, is rationalized by their dictum that "the public should have all of the facts." This is not so with tragedies in the lives of people who are attended by physicians, because *medical ethics* hold that a person's pain and tragedy are his own business. But the more pain, grief, or anger a news photographer can capture on a film and present to a hundred thousand readers at their breakfast tables, the more he is praised by his employer and colleagues. Where is his ethical concern for the dignity of another, the right to experience emotion in privacy?

I charge the mass media not only with making violence and brutality commonplace and therefore likely to be emulated, not only with callous violation of privacy in time of individual crisis, but with deliberate distortion of reality in the name of professional journalism. I am writing this at home on the top of one of the Los Altos hills, with 30 miles of San Francisco Bay spread out before me. It is early on a Saturday morning and the sun-illuminated morning mist softens the outlines of the homes and places of employment of a million people. When the morning paper arrives, will I get any extension of this beauty in the landscape and in the lives of thousands of people whose homes I see? Don't be ridiculous! On the front page I will read the latest "police brutalities" from the Haight-Ashbury area. I will read of the latest demonstrations by the Black Panthers, who are protesting the trial of their erstwhile leader, Huey Newton, charged with the murder of a policeman. There will be a lively murder story, along with some attention to the Czechoslovakian crisis with Russia. (The paper has arrived. I batted 1.000!)

We have been in this lovely place, an area of great natural beauty and a high level of culture, for just nine days, but the front pages of the newspaper have given us little of beauty or serenity. One has to have a strong feeling for the humanity and decent behavior of the 200 million people nationally and the 5 million locally not to be seduced into thinking that the front page or the television news program represents life.

In order to keep healthy for their counseling and other human relationships, can counselors protect themselves against these corroding influences, which tend to reinforce belief in evil and degeneration to the almost complete exclusion of love and constructive change?

The Economic Dilemma

A final area of my current concern is the influence of affluence in our society. We appear to be dangerously well off economically, and therefore highly

focused on things. "We," of course, means perhaps 150 million out of over 200 million — still an impressive proportion — who are suffering from differing degrees of affluence.

One factor in our affluence is the increasing proportion of married women who have a vocation outside the home as well as in it. In 1966 forty-five percent of all women in the United States between the ages of 18 and 64 were working outside of the home. This means more family income, but it means also a changed pattern of family life — whether for good or ill is not yet known.

Another dimension of our present prosperity is the likelihood that the poverty gap will grow wider. Now and in the immediate future there will be more job openings in the upper half of the income range for those who are technically prepared. These jobs require education beyond the high school level, most easily obtained by those reared in homes in which there is both reasonable affluence and a strong value placed on education. This does not argue well for the future of youth living at the poverty level or in city ghettos. The gap between their income average and that of the better educated and trained will grow greater. The efforts of both government and private enterprise to increase educational opportunities for deprived children and youth are certainly to be commended — they should be enlarged — but the effects of generations of poor opportunities and low educational aims will not be overcome in a few years, or even a decade.

Is there an answer? Elsewhere I have written about the preservation of the value of work (self-respect through paid or nonpaid achievement) and my belief that occupational counseling should be broadened to become vocational counseling (vocation as one's sense of mission in life, to which one's "occupation" may contribute only in part). I am convinced that the answer for the "affluent" is to stress the dignity of life more than possessions, and for the non-affluent to be given the opportunity to learn and to work with self-respect — to earn more and to be "given" less.

As I review what I have just written about the world of people around me, I come to the sad conclusion that what I have said will influence few people. Those who are close to where I see myself on the continuum of social reality and social responsibility — 10 to 20 degrees left of center — will find some support for their own convictions and confusions. Those more distinctly on the left may see my views as moderately conservative, while those on the right may see me as irresponsible and a betrayer of my generation.

It was not always thus. I was markedly conservative in my twenties — wore only dark neckties and was uptight in my religious life. The thirties, just after completing the Ph.D., were my years of groping and confusion. The Depression didn't bother my wife and me, although my first appointment at Stanford University, after the Ph.D., carried a salary of \$2,250 for the calendar year; but I "broke loose" from my earlier personality structure with pain and uncertainty. Almost four years in the Navy, beginning at age 40, were releasing and learning years — I came down from my academic ivory tower. A similar grassroots human awareness grew out of my business and industrial consulting ex-

perience in the years following World War II.² These past twenty years have seen me moving toward a stronger belief in the new generation than in my own generation. They, with all their brashness and great self-centeredness, appear to be closer to 1969 realities than are most of my contemporaries.

PROFESSIONAL CONCERNS

It would seem wasteful to take space in this chapter to elaborate on professional statements that I have earlier made in print. Even though one's thinking inevitably changes over the years, some past statements are largely congruent with my present views, and perhaps 25 of the items I have published over the past ten years contain still useful thinking, particularly about counseling. The remaining items from the 1928-1958 period on the list of selected writings following this paper still have relevance for today although they had more meaning for the period in which written.

As one reflects on counseling in 1969, a few issues appear to stand out distinctively enough to justify brief comment. The selection is completely subjective and personal.

The Counselor and Control

One of the issues of the day that I see as most crucial for the counselor of young people is whether he can maintain his image of himself against the pressures of other adults in the lives of his clients. If we assume that the counselor is the kind of student personnel professional who sees himself as dedicated to helping the student to *find himself* and to *behave responsibly upon his own*, he must achieve this in the face of enormous pressures to *manage* the student. It seems obvious that as there is an increase in the rebellion of young people against being managed, the schools and colleges, and indeed all social institutions, will be expected to counteract this "defiance." To the extent to which counselors are seen as being close to students and trusted by them, counselors will have increasing pressure from parents and school officials to see that students make the "right" decisions, choose the proper vocation and/or college, and "respect" parents and other institutions of society. These may be justifiable as objectives (certainly so at times) but the counselor will be less than a counselor if he persuades students toward choices, decisions, and attitudes that the current adult society thinks appropriate. He *can* control a student's choices—skillfully and subtly—and therein lies the danger. If he controls, how is the counselor different from all other control agencies in the student's life?

Social Conscience (law) and Personal Conscience (me)

Some of the present departures from law observance are vicious and self-seeking. Some are the results of social suggestion and "follow the leader" be-

² I have for some 15 years been a member of a psychological management consultant firm—Edward Claser and Associates—as well as psychological consultant for many years with the U.S. Employment Service, the Veterans Administration, the American Council on Education and, more recently, the Pepsi-Cola Management Institute.

havior. It has seemed to me, however, that a sizable proportion of the social disobedience that we are now observing among youth is a serious questioning of the inviolability of the rule of the majority. This is an uncomfortable statement to write, for law is the foundation stone of our organized society; but young people are pitting their personal consciences against the "rightness" of the draft law in times of peace, the tradition-dominated government of institutions designed to help youth, the reasonableness for youth of laws passed by lawmakers in the 50-80 age range, etc. Counselors must face these questions for themselves before they can help a student in his personal dilemma. Is there validity to "situation ethics," can I be inconsistent and yet authentic, can I be true to myself when I accept another's ethic as valid even though it is in opposition to my ethic and to the law of the land?

Of counselors I ask only two things: 1) that we give rebellious young people the benefit of the doubt and assume that some of them are thoughtfully debating this issue of social conscience vs. personal conscience, and 2) that we engage in a thoughtful analysis of our own position on this matter in order to avoid being unduly influenced by the inflammatory statements of either the conservative or the radical press.

Behavior and Self-Perception

We have lived through the heyday of psychological measurement and psychoanalysis, but strong elements of each of these approaches are now embodied in the basic structure of our psychological understanding. The strength of each is preserved, without either of them being viewed as the paramount personality theory of the day. The case is currently different for phenomenology—existentialism and behaviorism. Each has strong, wholly committed advocates, and each is still intolerant of the other. The outcome is as yet uncertain, but the likelihood is great that here again some of the elements of each will prove enduring and will be added to what we can reasonably say we know about human behavior.

The counselor, it seems to me, must attempt to understand both, in order to use the appropriate elements of each as a given client's need dictates. Despite the efforts of all fervent professors and research workers to the contrary, the counselor must start with each individual's situation, not with a theory or method, and must use understandings that are as varied as are the infinitely varied behavior patterns of different individuals.

Groups and the Individual

Counselors today are likely to feel guilty if they do not possess some skill in group counseling as well as the basic skill (and art) of relating to an individual in a one-to-one relationship. Perhaps the guilt lies elsewhere, with counselor educators, for example, who have no group skills of their own and who give none to their students. Perhaps the guilt is ill-advised, because the utilization of relationship dynamics in a group is a fairly recent development. The formal education of both counselors and counselor educators was simply too early for this development. Nevertheless, the most urgent need for continuing professional development is in the area of group counseling. This frightens some

people — perhaps they do not have enough knowledge of and experience in personal dynamics. Perhaps they know too much of personal counseling and are apprehensive of the raw emotions aroused in group confrontations.

I am bothered by two factors in this professional development — the claims made by the most ardent proponents of group counseling (called T-groups, encounter groups, sensitivity training, and the like, in many nonschool settings) that make it seem another one of "the answers" — "now we've got it," the most profound and final answer. Of course it isn't. There are several roads to Heaven. I am also concerned that the profound emotions often displayed in group counseling will not be recognized as such and that someone will get hurt.

I have only limited personal experience with group counseling — hence, some of my concerns are simply the result of ignorance. Much assurance has been given to me by well-respected colleagues who are both versed and skillful. Much more assurance came from reading and rereading, in manuscript and proof form, the new book by Clarence Mahler, *Group Counseling in the Schools* (Houghton Mifflin, 1969). This operationally useful book is so simply and clearly written, by a man whom I know to be sensitive and widely experienced in this field, that I think I could almost start a group from scratch after reading it. Perhaps it is not too complex for me after all — perhaps I could be helpful to others in a group and in turn be helped by them! Whatever our lack of experience and skill, group counseling and all of its relatives are deeply imbedded in our society — we had better get with it.

Nor do I mean that individual counseling is to be abandoned — far from it. Group and individual counseling meet different needs (of different individuals or of the same individual at different times) and result in different outcomes. It would be sad if, in our enthusiasm for the new, we abandoned the old. Heart transplants will not mean the abandonment of normal heart operations and heart treatments. But the surgeon had better understand transplants — and the counselor had better do the same with group counseling.

Contact with People and Contact with Ideas

The professional education of a counselor can be an exciting adventure or a dismal journey through a dusty land. It can be formal and conventional, a step-by-step sequence from knowledge to the application of knowledge, or it can be an inductive search for ideas and skills to match the behavior and needs of people the counselor sees. Is it "safe" to allow a counselor-in-preparation to see a client before he "knows a lot" — or is there equal danger in postponing all client contact until the counselor-to-be is "filled with knowledge"?

This issue is related to the science-art query in counseling — how much is science and how much is art? Literally, of course, while science without art may seem cold and unreal to the *person* of the client, art without science acts from ignorance and may be dangerous. It is not an either-or alternative. The sequence of idea-contact vs. people-contact is the significant point. A counselor's performance depends upon *both* what he knows and what he does, yet some counselor educators appear to stress one to the exclusion of the other.

Perhaps the start should be with people, or at least with flesh-and-blood representations of whole persons as opposed to bits-and-pieces contacts. Charles McArthur (1958) commented on this ten years ago and so has James Bugental (1963) upon many occasions. The issue is perhaps one of two kinds of trust — 1) are student counselors, with appropriate safeguards and constant feedbacks, to be trusted with clients from the first, and 2) are observations of people as they express themselves and interact with other people to be trusted more than representations of ideas about people? Putting it bluntly, who (the student or himself) and what (live persons or ideas) does the counselor educator trust?

CONCLUSION

Some years ago I wrote about "the culturally encapsulated counselor." The temptation to seek encapsulation is greater today than ever. The facing of uncomfortable and distasteful realities takes much courage and a solid sense of assurance in one's self. One's supportive values are not necessarily permanent values, but constructively changing values. There is stability in accepting change and mobility and in living with these dimensions of life on friendly terms. This means also trusting life and its Creator.

Coupled with this attitude toward one's own life space, the counselor needs to be both gentle and firm with the life spaces of his clients and his friends. They are neither "right" nor "wrong" when they are like you or different from you, they simply are, as you are. The secret lies in a counselor communicating this trust in the reality of the other while maintaining his own integrity.

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